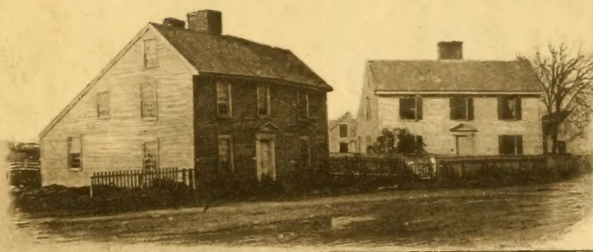


John Adams Library,



IN THE CUSTODY OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

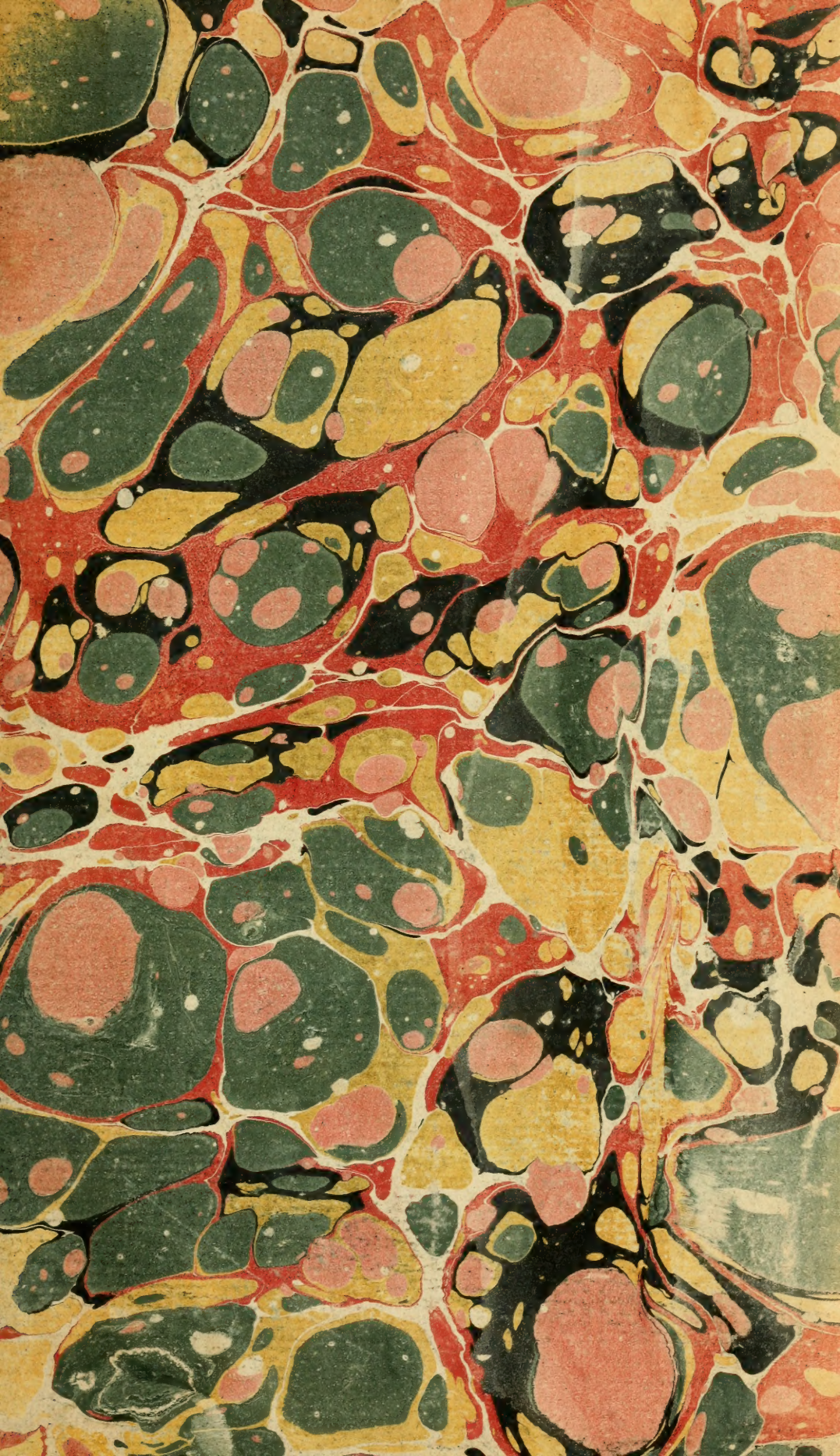


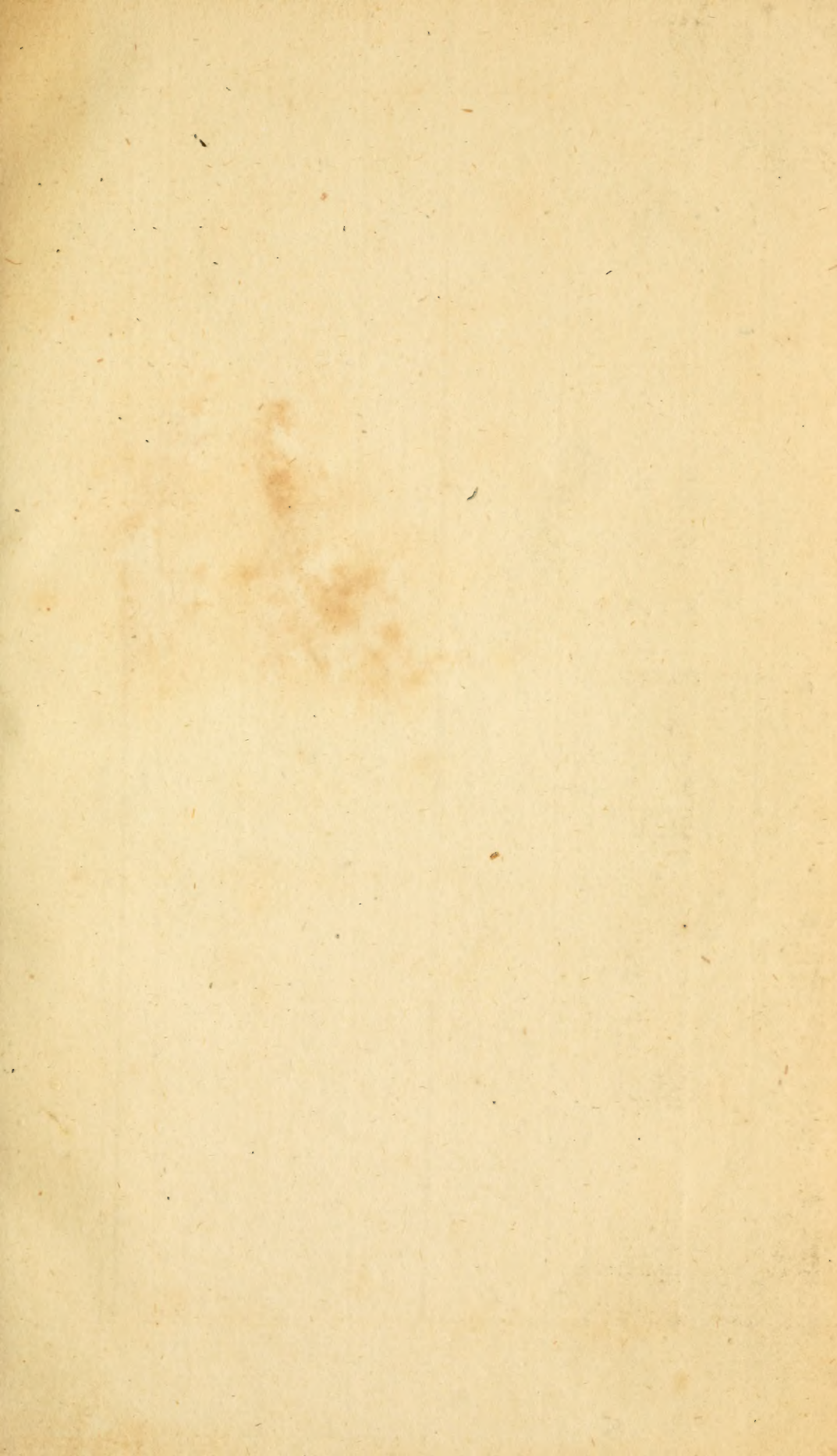
SHELF NO

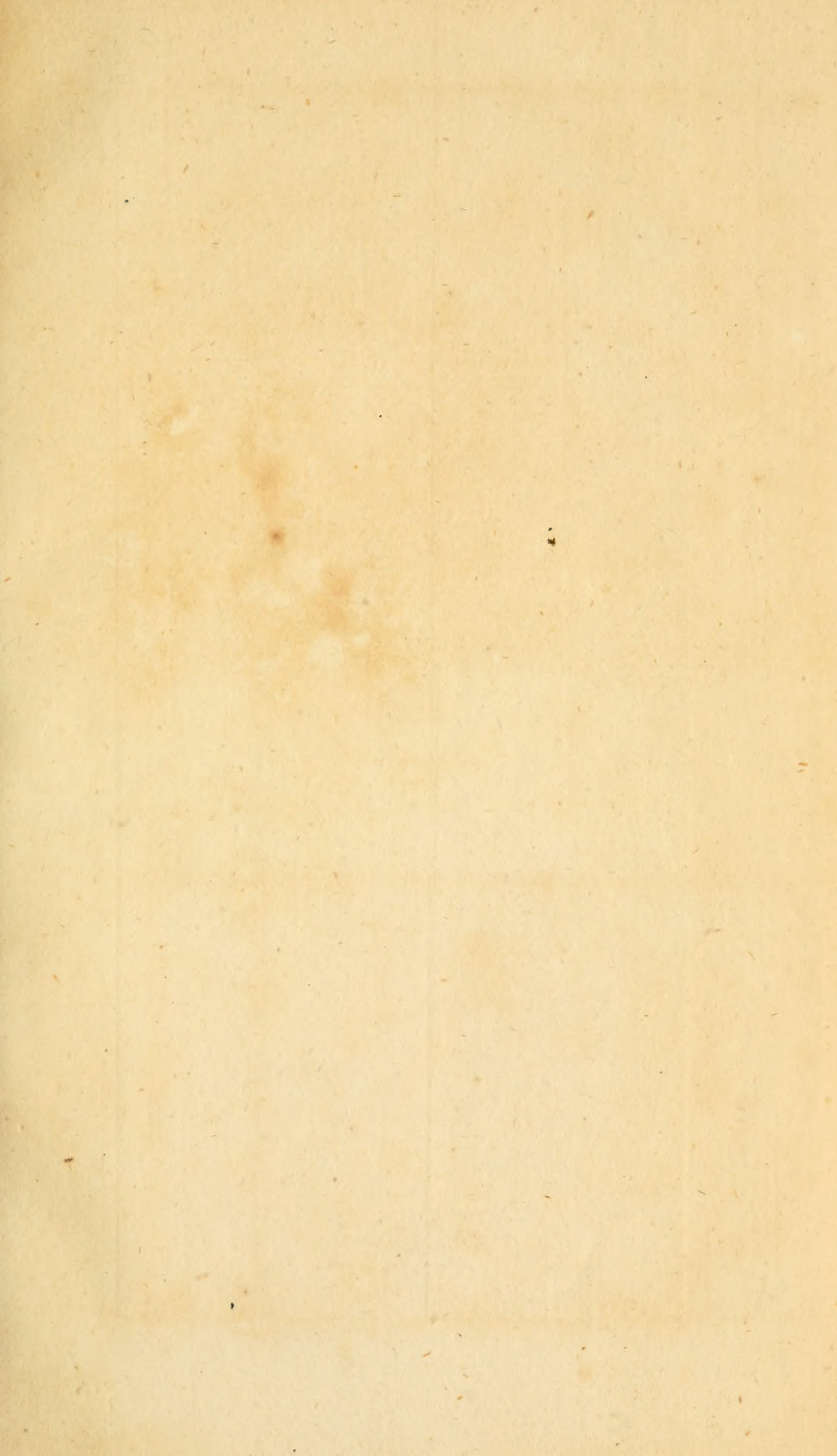
★ ADAMS

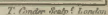
★ ~~251.3~~

251-v.2









THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT,
OF THE
I N D E P E N D E N C E
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:
INCLUDING
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LATE WAR;
AND OF THE
THIRTEEN COLONIES,
FROM THEIR ORIGIN TO THAT PERIOD.

By WILLIAM GORDON, D.D.

QUID VERUM **** CURO, ET ROGO, ET OMNIS IN HOC SUM.
HORAT. I Ep. I Lib.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR;
AND SOLD BY CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY; AND
JAMES DUCKLAND, IN PATER-NOSTER-ROW.

M DCC LXXXVIII.

ADAMS 25/3

20.2

THE GENERAL CONTENTS OF THE SEVERAL LETTERS
IN VOL. II.

LETTER I. P. 1—98.

THE *North Carolina* general assembly meet, p. 1. The effects of the *Lexington* engagement, p. 2. The expedition against *Tyconderoga*, p. 10. The proceedings of the *Massachusetts congress*, p. 17. Transactions in and about *Boston*, p. 23. Governor *Hutchinson's* letter books discovered, p. 28. The acts of the general congress, p. 31. *George Washington* esq; elected commander in chief of the continental forces, p. 34. The battle at *Breed's-hill* erroneously called *Bunker's-hill*, p. 41. A speech of the *Oneida Indians*, p. 54. An answer of the *Stockbridge Indians*, p. 56. The reply of the *Massachusetts congress*, p. 58. The acts of the general congress, p. 60. General *Washington's* arrival at the American camp, and the affairs of the army, p. 63. The acts of the general congress to the time of their adjourning, p. 69. *Georgia* accedes to the union, p. 73. The proceedings of the *South Carolinians*, p. 81—of the *North Carolinians*, p. 84—of the *Virginians*, p. 85—of the *Maryland* convention, p. 92. The affairs of *Pennsylvania*, *Philadelphia*, *New York*, and other places, p. 93.

LETTER II. P. 98—168.

THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES, p. 98. The proceedings of the *South Carolinians*, p. 99. The nature of the opposition to popular measures in their colony, p. 101. They send troops into the settlements of the royalists, p. 106. The measures taken by the *North Carolinians*, p. 107—by the *Virginians*, p. 108—in regard to lord *Dunmore*, p. 110—his lordship disappointed at *Norfolk*, p. 112—in his expectation of being joined by a considerable force under *Connelly*, p. 114. The orders of the *Pennsylvania* assembly to their delegates in congress, p. 116. The sentiments of the *Jersey* assembly, p. 117. The *Asia* man of war fires upon *New York*, p. 118. Governor *Tryon's* influence alarms congress, p. 119. Letters between generals *Washington* and *Gage*, p. 125. Colonel *Arnold's* expedition into *Canada*, p. 128. Dr. *Church's* correspondence with a British officer discovered, p. 134. *Falmouth* destroyed, p. 138. The old south meeting-house in *Boston* turned into a horse riding school, p. 139. The *Massachusetts* assembly resolve to fit out armed vessels, p. 144. The steps taken to introduce independence, p. 149. Acts of congress, p. 153. General *Montgomery* is sent to *Canada*, p. 158—appears before *Quebec*, p. 167.

C O N T E N T S.

LETTER III. P. 168—218.

New Hampshire convention take up civil government, p. 168. The critical situation of the *American* army before *Boston*, p. 172. General *Lee* is sent on to *New York*, p. 174. The inhabitants of *Tryon* county disarmed, p. 176. General *Montgomery* killed in an attack upon *Quebec*, p. 185. Preparations for taking possession of *Dorchester-heights*, p. 190. The Americans possess themselves of the same, p. 192. General *Howe* resolves upon evacuating *Boston*, p. 196—evacuates it, p. 198. The hardships experienced by the inhabitants of the town, p. 204. *Norfolk* in *Virginia* burnt, p. 206. The *North Carolina* insurgents subdued, p. 208. The acts of congress, p. 212. Commodore *Hopkins's* naval expedition, p. 214.

LETTER IV. P. 218—248.

The general voice of the *Europeans* rather favorable to the *Americans*, p. 219. A dreadful tempest on the coasts of *Newfoundland*, p. 222. General *Conway* opposes administration, p. 225. The duke of *Grafton* unexpectedly quits it, p. 226. Governor *Penn* examined before the house of lords, p. 231. The address of the representatives of *Nova Scotia* to the king and parliament, p. 234. The bill for prohibiting all intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies strenuously opposed, p. 235. Sir *Peter Parker* and earl *Cornwallis* sail for *America*, p. 240. The British king's treaties with the *German* princes, p. 241—protested against, p. 243. Lord *Howe* and gen. *Howe* constituted his majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, p. 245. The sentiments of the *French* relative to the *American* contest, p. 247.

LETTER V. P. 248—298.

The blockade of *Quebec* continued, p. 249. The *Americans* conclude upon retreating from before it, p. 252. The American fort at the *Cedars* surrendered, p. 254. General *Thompson* goes against the *British* at *Three Rivers*; is defeated and taken, p. 256. The *Americans* retreat from *Canada*, p. 259. Capt. *Mugford* takes the *Hope* ordnance store ship, p. 264. The *British* ships of war are driven from *Nantasket*, p. 266. A number of highlanders with lieut. colonel *Campbell* taken in *Boston* bay, p. 268. Measures taken to draw the *New Yorkers* into independency, p. 269. Acts of congress, p. 271. Resolutions respecting independency moved and seconded in congress, p. 274. Mr. *Payne's* pamphlet stiled *Common Sense*, p. 275. A scheme for destroying general *Washington's* army at *New York*,

C O N T E N T S.

York, p. 276. Sir *Peter Parker* and general *Clinton's* design against *Charlestown* in *South Carolina*, p. 279. *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland* agree to independence, p. 289. *The Declaration of Independence*, p. 290.

L E T T E R VI. P. 298—320.

Lord *Howe* arrives off *Staten Island*, and sends a letter to *George Washington* esq; p. 301. General *Howe* lands the royal army on *Long Island*, p. 306—surprises and defeats the *Americans*, p. 308. The *Americans* conclude upon evacuating the island, p. 313. The wretched state of the armies under generals *Washington* and *Gates*, p. 316.

L E T T E R VII. P. 321—389.

Some members of congress have a conference with lord *Howe*, p. 322. General *Washington's* distressing situation, p. 323. The *Americans* evacuate *New York*, p. 328. A terrible fire at *New York*, p. 330. Great animosities in the *American* army, p. 331. Congress adopt a new code for the government of the army, p. 332. General *Howe* lands on *Frog's Neck*, p. 336. The *Americans*, by the advice of general *Lee*, evacuate *New York* island, p. 338. The battle of the *Brunx*, or *White Plains*, p. 340. General *Howe* advances toward *Kingsbridge*, p. 344. General *Washington* crosses the *North river*, p. 347. The royal army takes fort *Washington*, p. 348. Fort *Lee* abandoned by general *Greene*, p. 353. General *Washington* retreats to *Newark*, and through the *Ferseys* across the *Delaware* into *Pennsylvania*, p. 353. General *Lee* taken, p. 358. A summary of the captures made by general *Howe* during the campaign, p. 360. General *Lee's* letter to the French minister, p. 362. The *Carolians* engage in a successful war with the *Cherokees*, p. 364. Acts of congress, p. 370. They appoint commissioners to the court of *France*, p. 372—agree upon a scheme of a lottery, p. 377. General *Gates* fixes upon general *Arnold* to command the *American* fleet on lake *Champlain*, p. 379. *Arnold* engages the *British* fleet and is defeated, p. 383. The wind keeps back Sir *Guy Carleton* from improving his victory, p. 385—his humanity to the *American* prisoners, p. 388.

L E T T E R VIII. P. 390—435.

The infatuation of the enemy saved the *Americans*, when they retreated across the *Delaware*, p. 390. General *Washington* crosses into the *Ferseys*, defeats a body of *Hessians* at *Trenton*, and returns to *Pennsylvania*, p. 395. Returns to *Trenton*,

C O N T E N T S.

p. 398—deceives lord *Cornwallis*; marches for *Princeton*; and there attacks the fourth *British* brigade, p. 400—proceeds to *Morristown*, while *Cornwallis* hastens back to *Brunswick* with all speed, p. 403. Acts of congress, and their instructions to their ministers, p. 405—their resolve for supporting the credit of their paper emissions, and making the same a *lawful tender*, p. 412. The enormities of the royal troops in the *Ferseys* and at *New York*, p. 414. The whole country of the *Ferseys* rendered hostile by means of them, p. 416. The *American* troops guilty of great plundering, p. 420. The *American* stores at *Peeks-kill* destroyed by the *British*, p. 423. The states attempt the regulating of prices, p. 425. The treatment of the *American* prisoners at *New York*, p. 427—the consequences of it, p. 431. The *American* cruisers make considerable captures, p. 433.

L E T T E R IX. P. 435—453.

The naval preparations of the house of *Bourbon*, p. 436. Lord *John Cavendish's* pointed speech against the measures of government, p. 437. The answer of ministry, p. 440. The bill for empowering the crown to secure persons accused or suspected of high treason, or of piracy, meets with opposition, p. 443. *John the Painter*, alias *James Aitken*, p. 445. Mr. *Arthur Lee's* correspondence with Mr. *Beaumarchais*, p. 448. The general assembly of the church of *Scotland* address his majesty, p. 452.

L E T T E R X. P. 454—584.

The committee of congress appointed to inquire into the conduct of the enemy, make their report, p. 457. Governor *Tryon* sent upon an expedition to *Danbury*, p. 462. Colonel *Meig's* expedition to *Sagg* harbour, p. 468. General *Howe* takes the field, but soon returns to *Brunswick*, p. 469—removes to *Ambry*, p. 472—advances unexpectedly from *Amboy* toward general *Washington*, p. 473—embarks his army from *Staten Island*, p. 474. General *Schuyler* supersedes *Gates* in the command of the northern army, p. 475. General *Burgoyne* proceeds with the royal troops from *Canada* to *Crown Point*, and issues out a singular proclamation, p. 477—invests the *American* posts, p. 480. General *St. Clair* concludes upon evacuating *Tyconderoga* and *Mount Independence*, p. 481—his rear guard attacked by general *Fraser*, p. 483—he joins *Schuyler* at fort *Edward*, p. 486. The state of *Schuyler's* army, p. 488. General *Prescott* surprised and carried off from *Rhode Island*, by lieut. colonel *Barton*, p. 491. Sir *William Howe* sails from
Sandy

C O N T E N T S.

Sandy Hook; while *Washington* is greatly perplexed about his destination, p. 492—lands his troops at *Elk ferry* in *Maryland*, while *Washington* marches with his troops toward the *Brandywine*, p. 494. Acts of congress, p. 495. Some account of the marquis *de la Fayette*, p. 500. General *Gates* elected to command the northern army, and to relieve *Schuyler*, p. 502. General *Sullivan's* expedition to *Staten Island*, p. 503. The report of the committee of congress respecting the quakers, p. 505. Sir *W. Howe* attacks the *Americans* at the *Brandywine*, and defeats them, p. 510. General *Washington* having retreated to *Philadelphia*, quits the city, with a full resolution of passing the *Schuylkill* and giving Sir *William* battle, p. 514—recrosses the *Schuylkill*, p. 516. General *Wayne* attacked by general *Grey*, p. 517. Sir *William Howe* deceives the American commander, crosses the *Schuylkill* unexpectedly, and enters *Philadelphia*, p. 517. Lord *Howe* conducts the fleet to the *Delaware*, p. 519. General *Washington* surprises the British troops at *German-town*, p. 523. *St. Leger* invests fort *Stanwix*, p. 529—the militia marching to relieve it are surprised and beaten, p. 530. *Arnold* undertakes to relieve it, and succeeds, p. 532. *Burgoyne* sends a body of *Germans* to surprise the American stores at *Bennington*, p. 538—they are defeated by *Stark*, who commands the *New Hampshire* militia, p. 540. Letters between *Burgoyne* and *Gates*, p. 543. An account of Miss *McCrea's* death, p. 544. *Lincoln* sends colonel *Brown* to lake *George* to release the American prisoners, and destroy the British stores, p. 546. The Americans under *Gates* engage the British under *Burgoyne*, p. 548. Sir *H. Clinton* attacks and takes forts *Montgomery* and *Clinton*, p. 555. A second engagement between *Burgoyne* and *Gates*, p. 558. The distress and calamity of the royal army, p. 563. The funeral of general *Frazer*, p. 565. The *Americans* accidentally prevented, when about attacking the royal troops under great disadvantages, p. 568. *Burgoyne* is baffled in his design of gaining fort *Edward*, p. 571—enters upon a treaty with *Gates*, p. 573—signs the convention, p. 574. *Æsopus* burnt by the troops under *Vaughan*, p. 579. The convention troops pass through the centre of the Americans, as they begin their march to *Boston*, without meeting with the least insult, p. 581.

ERRATA beside those at the End of the Volume.

Page 95, line 14, *read* clear off by the friends of congress. P. 127, l. 28, *read* which last. P. 193, l. 5, *read* so as to carry. P. 205, l. 4, *read* American. P. 260, l. 10, 11, *read* crossed from the island to Longueil on the continent, in his way. P. 397, l. 2, *read* took in all 918,

THE
RISE, PROGRESS, AND CONCLUSION
OF THE
NORTH AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

LETTER I.

Roxbury, August 15, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,

TO prevent an omission, let me begin with mentioning, that when governor Martin met the general assembly of North Carolina at Newbern, he made a speech to them in a high governmental strain; and expressed his expectation, that they would oppose so dangerous a step, as the unwarrantable measure of appointing delegates to attend a congress in Philadelphia. He also told them, that they were most peculiarly called upon to oppose a meeting of delegates, which the people had been invited to choose, and who were appointed to assemble at that very time and place, in the face of the legislature. The assembly in their answer justified the meeting of the people, and said, "Be it far from us even to wish to prevent the operations of the convention, now held at Newbern." They also took the opportunity, the first that had been given them, to express

1775.
Apr.
4.

VOL. II, B their

their warm attachment to their sister colonies in general, and their heart-felt compassion for the deplorable state of the town of Boston; and to declare the fixed resolution of the colony, to unite with the other colonies in every effort to retain their just rights and liberties.

Let me now enter upon the narration of the effects of the Lexington engagement out of the Massachusetts colony. The news of it flew with the utmost rapidity; and influenced the minds of all people, answerable to their various apprehensions and attachments.

Col. *Putnam* served with the Connecticut troops, under gen. Amherst the last war. By his courage and conduct he secured to himself a good share of reputation. When peace commenced, he returned to the civil line of life. Of late he has occupied a tavern with a farm annexed to it. Such a junction is frequent in New England, and the occupation not at all inconsistent with a Roman character. The Lexington news was brought him while working in a leathern frock and apron, at a stone wall, with which to fence in his land. This was about eleven o'clock in the morning. After giving his men some direction how to proceed, he went home, got his horse, and rode to the neighbouring towns, to acquaint the militia officers and others with what had taken place. As he was returning, he found some hundreds mustered, who informed him that they had appointed him their general, and were determined to march off immediately. He said that he was not ready, had no money about him, and must go and get some. They supplied him from among themselves; on which he gave proper orders for their marching after him, and went forward in his check shirt, upon the same beast, and got to

Concord

Concord the next morning by sun rise, having rode, as he supposed, from eleven o'clock of the preceding morning, not less than a hundred miles, within the eighteen hours. The militia that followed him, marched with a quick step till they reached the place of destination.

Mr. *Benedict Arnold* of New Haven, had been chosen captain of a volunteer company, by the inhabitants, when they began to prepare for whatever might happen. No sooner did the Lexington news reach him, than he called his company together, and asked them whether they would march off with him the next morning for the neighbourhood of Boston, distant 150 miles. They agreed; and at the proper time paraded before the tavern where a committee was sitting. He applied to the gentlemen for powder and ball; they demurred supplying him, as he was not duly authorized. The captain, in haste to fly to the help of his suffering brethren, proposed procuring the supply by force if needful, to which the volunteers consented. He then sent to the committee, and informed them what he was determined upon. Colonel Wooster came out, and would have persuaded him to wait till he had received proper orders; to which capt. Arnold answered, "*None but God Almighty shall prevent my marching.*" The committee perceiving his fixed resolution, supplied him; and he marched off instantly, and with his company reached the American head quarters by the 29th of April.

The news reached New York on the Lord's day. 23. On hearing it, capt. Sears conceived the design of stopping all vessels going to Quebec, Newfoundland, Georgia and Boston; several were about to sail. He

consulted Mr. Lamb, who joined in the measure. They then wrote a letter to the committee of Philadelphia, assuring them that all vessels would be stopt at New York, and signed it with their names, that so the assurance might be relied upon. The express being sent off, they contrived to assemble the people, without its being known upon what business; and when they were met, it was concluded upon to shut up the custom house. The officer was waited on, who, considering the expediency of a compliance, ordered the keys to be delivered up to capt. Sears. The merchants whose vessels were cleared out, dared not to admit of their sailing. The Philadelphia committee, relying upon the assurance that had been given them, so managed as that it was agreed, to shut up their port also against all vessels going to the beforementioned places.

The hostilities in the Massachusetts threw the city of New York into such a state of tumult, that it was judged expedient, with a view of restoring tranquillity and good order, to appoint a general committee of a hundred for the city and county of New York, which answered,

May 5. This committee addressed a letter to the lord-mayor, aldermen and common-council of the city of London, which was signed by seventy-seven of them. In it they declared, that "The disposal of their own property with perfect spontaniety, and in a manner wholly divested of every appearance of constraint, is their indefeasible birth-right. This exalted blessing they are resolutely determined to defend with their blood, and to transfer uncontaminated to their posterity." They professed their readiness to submit cheerfully to a regulation of commerce, by the legislature of the parent state, excluding,
in

in its nature, every idea of taxation; but reprobated the minister's conciliatory plan. They gave assurance, "That America is grown so irritable by oppression, that the least shock in any part is, by the most powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent—That while the whole continent are ardently wishing for peace on such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal." Near the close they said, "We speak the real sentiments of the confederated colonies on the continent, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare, that all the horrors of a civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of parliament." They concluded with expressing their confidence of the most vigorous exertions of the city of London to restore union and mutual peace to the whole empire.

The next day an association was signed by upward of 6. a thousand of the principal inhabitants of the city and county. They in the most solemn manner declared, that they associated to endeavour carrying into execution whatever measures might be recommended by the continental congress, or be resolved upon by their own provincial convention, for the purpose of preserving their constitution, and opposing the execution of the oppressive acts of the British parliament, until a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, on constitutional principles, can be obtained; and that they would in all things follow the advice of their general committee, respecting the purposes aforesaid, the preservation of peace and good order, and the safety of individuals and private property.

The inhabitants armed themselves also with great diligence and industry. But it is not to be inferred, from these strong appearances, that there is a real and general union in sentiment among the New Yorkers. They are much divided; though each party has thus coalesced with a view of serving its own particular interest. The tories have joined, to prevent the violences which might otherwise exist, and to check the progress of the sons of liberty. The whigs have joined, in hope of drawing the others into such lengths in opposing ministerial measures, as are reprobated by them at present.

The New Jersey people, on receiving the Lexington news, took possession of the province treasury, in which there was about 20,000*l.* part of it is appropriated to the payment of the troops they are now raising for the defence of the liberties of America.

The citizens of *Philadelphia*, beside stopping the vessels as before related, were spirited up to attempt perfecting their preparations for the most serious and painful contest.

The governor of the province laid before the assembly the minister's conciliatory plan; and observed to them, that they were the *first* assembly on the continent to whom it had been communicated. After considering it, they said, "If no *other* objection to the plan proposed occurred to us, we should esteem it a dishonorable desertion of sister colonies, connected by an union, founded on just motives and mutual faith, and conducted by general councils, for a single colony to adopt a measure so extensive in consequence, without the advice and consent of those colonies engaged with us by solemn ties in the same common cause." The complexion of the assembly has been changed. In the choice of deputies

for the approaching congress, made last December, Mr. Galloway was left out; and on the sixth of May, the house added three more to the number of their deputies, and the first on the list was Dr. Franklin. Thus have they, since his arrival, expressed their approbation of his conduct, and their confidence in his abilities. The plan has been since proposed to other colony-assemblies, but with no better success than in Pennsylvania.

The account of the action arrived at Baltimore in *Maryland*, in six days; the inhabitants immediately seized upon the provincial magazine, containing 1500 stand of arms, &c. They also stopped all exports to the fishing islands, and those colonies which have refused to unite with their brethren in the common cause; and all supplies to the navy and army at Boston.

In Virginia, a provincial congress met in March, for want of a legal assembly, and took measures for arraying the militia, the militia laws being expired; and recommended to each county the raising of a volunteer company for the better defence of the country. On the 20th of April the governor employed the captain of an armed vessel to convey by night, on board his ship, from the public magazine, out of about one and twenty, fifteen half barrels of powder, containing 50lb. each. The citizens of Williamsburgh were greatly alarmed, so that the mayor and corporation addressed his lordship upon the occasion, who in his answer informed them, that hearing of an insurrection in a neighbouring county, he had removed the powder from the magazine to a place of perfect security; and that whenever it was wanted on any insurrection, it should be delivered in half an hour. The news of the seizure soon reached Hanover

B 4

county,

county, upon which capt. Patrick Henry, and the other volunteers of the county, marched for Williamsburgh, with a view of securing the public treasury from the like catastrophe, and of obtaining a return of the powder, or a compensation for it. More than a hundred and fifty, all well accoutred, and making a martial appearance, advanced within 15 miles of the capital; but a sufficient sum of money being paid by the receiver-general to compensate for the powder, and the citizens engaging to guard the public treasury and magazine, they dispersed and returned to their respective homes.

The value of the whole magazine was very inadequate to the alarm and disturbance which the governor's measure excited. Neither powder nor muskets were sufficient to answer any essential purpose, or even to justify apprehension.

His lordship was exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people, and threw out threats. Those of setting up the royal standard, of enfranchising the negroes, and arming them against their masters, and of destroying the city, with other expressions of a similar tendency, not only spread a general alarm through the colony, but excited a kind of abhorrence of government, and an incurable suspicion of its designs. Mean while, several public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which the seizing of the powder, and the governor's threats, were reprobated in the strongest terms. The news of Lexington engagement arriving when the minds of the Virginians were in such a ferment, tended to increase their apprehensions, and of course attention to the militia and volunteer companies,

It was not long ere the same news reached Charlestown in South Carolina. The hopes of the inhabitants, that the non-importation and non-exportation agreements would induce the parent state to recede from her demands, were blasted on the arrival of a packet from London, the 19th of April: but when the Lexington news was received, they concluded that the colonies were to be dragooned into slavery. The thought excited the greatest indignation: but they paused, upon considering their situation. The province, for near two hundred miles coastways, was accessible to the British fleets and armies. It had but a few trifling fortifications, and these held by British officers. The western frontiers were exposed to the savages; and the negroes might be prevailed upon, by insinuations, to slay their masters. The governor had the command of the militia; and all the officers had their commissions from him. The inhabitants were quite defenceless, without arms, ammunition, clothing, ships, money, or men skilled in the arts of war. The stores of the merchants afforded no supplies of a warlike nature; no exception having been made in the general scheme of non-importation. They could not however brook a mean submission to the dictates of Britain; and therefore determined upon a manly and virtuous resistance. Accordingly, on the night after intelligence of actual hostilities was received, a number of the principal gentlemen of the town possessed themselves of twelve hundred stand of arms with the accoutrements; removed them directly from the royal arsenal, and afterward distributed them among the men enlisted in the public service,

Let

Let us return to notice an expedition planned in Connecticut.

The necessity of securing Tyconderoga, was early attended to by many in New England: but some Connecticut gentlemen were first in attempting the measure. Secrecy was essential to success; and delay might be dangerous. There was no waiting to consult the continental congress; beside, it would not have been safe to have communicated the scheme to that body, as it was known there would be individuals in it, on whose fidelity the Americans could not rely. Messrs. Deane, Wooster, Parsons and others, undertook the affair. They applied to the assembly for a loan, which was furnished, to the amount of about eighteen hundred dollars, and for which they gave bonds to be accountable. General Gage had set the example of attempting to seize upon military stores, and by so doing had commenced hostilities: so that retaliation appeared more than warrantable, even an act of self-defence. The expedition went on with rapidity. Several militia captains pushed forward to Salisbury to acquaint Messrs. Blagden's (nephews to your former acquaintance, the carpenter, of the same name) with the design, and to procure their assistance. One was ill, the other* joined in the proposed manœuvre. After a little deliberation, they concluded upon spending no time in obtaining men; but, having provided a sufficient quantity of powder and ball, set off on horseback for Bennington to engage colonel Allen. They conferred with him upon their arrival; and then tarried with others to bake bread,

* Afterward a lieutenant colonel in Sheldon's light horse.

and prepare other necessities, while the colonel went on to raise the men who were wanting, and who were to meet the managers at Castleton. While these were on their way to the place of rendezvous, they were met by a countryman, apparently an undesigning honest traveller, but who was either himself well-skilled and a principal, or had been well-tutored by some one or other, that had either suspected or gained knowledge of the expedition, and meant to render it abortive. They addressed him, "From whence came you?—From 'Ty*, left it yesterday, at such an hour.—Has the garrison received any reinforcement?—Yes; I saw them; there were a number of artillery men and other soldiers.—What are they doing? Are they making fascines?—Don't know what fascines are. They are tying up sticks and brush in bundles, and putting them where the walls are down." Mr. Samuel Blagden put many insnaring questions about the dress and trimmings of the men, &c. The answers tended to confirm the man's story. The company was staggered; and it being debated in council, whether they should not return as they had no cannon, it was determined, by a majority of one only, to proceed. At Castleton they met colonel Allen with his men, and altogether made two hundred and seventy persons; two hundred and thirty of them were *green mountain boys*, so called from their residing within the limits of the Green Mountains; as the Hampshire Grants are denominated, from the range of green mountains that runs through them. They are a brave hardy generation, chiefly settlers from New Hampshire, Massa-

* So Tyconderoga is frequently called for the sake of brevity, especially by the people dwelling in its neighbourhood.

chusetts and Connecticut *. Sentries were placed immediately on all the roads, to prevent any intelligence being carried to Tyconderoga. After the junction at Castleton, colonel Arnold arrived, with only a single servant. The day after his getting to Cambridge with his volunteer company, he attended on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and reported that there were at Tyconderoga, 80 pieces of heavy cannon, 20 of brass from 4 to 18 pounders, 10 or a dozen mortars, a number of small arms, and considerable stores; and that the fort was in a ruinous condition, and as he supposed garrisoned by about forty men. Upon this the committee, on the third of May, appointed him a colonel of four hundred men, whom he was to enlist and march for the reduction of Tyconderoga. The colonel was known only to Mr. Blagden. A council was called; his powers were examined; and at length it was agreed, that he should be admitted to join and act with them, that so the public might be benefited. It was settled, however, that colonel Allen should have the supreme command, and colonel Arnold was to be his assistant; with which the latter appeared satisfied, as he had no right by his commission, either to command or interfere with the others, who were not only out of the Massachusetts line, but the subjects of another colony. The names of the leaders, besides what have been mentioned, were Messrs. Motte, Phelps's (two brothers) Biggelow, Bull and Nichols, beside colonels Easton, Brown and Warner, and captain Dickinson.

After it had been determined in a council to set off the next morning early for Ty, and some of the ma-

* The territory has now the name of *Vermont*.

nagers had retired, a second council was held, and it was concluded to proceed that very night, leaving Messrs. Blagden, Biggelow and Nichols, with a party of men, thirty in all, officers included, to march early in the morning for Skeensborough, and secure major Skeen, his negroes and tenants. This council might have been occasioned by the return of captain Noah Phelps, who the day before, having disguised himself, entered the fort in the character of a countryman wanting to be shaved. In hunting for a barber, he observed every thing critically, asked a number of rustic questions, affected great ignorance, and passed unsuspected. Before night he withdrew, came and joined his party, and in the morning guided them to the place of destination.

Colonel Allen, with his 230 *green mountain boys*, arrived at Lake Champlain, and opposite to Tyconderoga, on the ninth at night. Boats were procured with difficulty; when he and colonel Arnold crossed over with 83 men, and landed near the garrison. Here a dispute took place between the colonels, the latter became assuming and swore he would go in first, the other swore he should not. The gentlemen present interposed, and the matter was accommodated upon the footing that both should go in together. They advanced a long side of each other, colonel Allen on the right hand of colonel Arnold, and entered the port leading to the fort, in the gray of the morning. A sentry snapped his fusée 10. at colonel Allen, and then retreated through the covered way to the parade; the main body of the Americans followed, and immediately drew up. Captain De la Place, the commander, was surprised a bed in his room. He was ordered to give up the fort; upon his asking by what authority,

authority, colonel Allen replied, "I demand it in the name of the great Jehovah and the continental congress." The congress knew nothing of the matter, and did not commence their existence till some hours after; when they began their session, they chose the honorable *Feyton Randolph* president, and Mr. *Charles Thomson* secretary, each with a unanimous voice; and having agreed "That the reverend Mr. Duché be requested to open the congress with prayers to-morrow morning," and appointed a committee to acquaint him with their request, adjourned till the next day. Had captain De la Place been upon the parade with his men, he could have made no effectual resistance. The fort was out of repair, and he had but about thirty effectives. Could he have gained timely intelligence, he might have procured a reenforcement from St. John's. You have the particulars of the military stores taken at Tyconderoga below *. After colonel Allen had landed, the boats were sent back for the remainder of the men under colonel Seth Warren, but the place was surprised before he could get over. Immediately upon his joining the successful party, he was sent off to take possession of *Crown Point*, where a sergeant and twelve men performed garrison duty; but the greatest acquisition was that of

* Between 112 and 120 iron cannon from 6 to 24 pounders—50 swivels of different sizes—2 ten inch mortars—1 howitzer—1 cohorn—10 tons of musket balls—3 cart load of flints—30 new carriages—a considerable quantity of shells—a warehouse full of materials to carry on boat building—100 stand of small arms—10 casks of very indifferent powder—2 brass cannon—30 barrels of flour—18 barrels of pork, and some beans and peas.

The prisoners were the captain, a lieutenant, a gunner, 2 sergeants, and 44 rank and file, beside women and children.

more

more than a hundred pieces of cannon. The complete command of Lake Champlain was of high importance to the Americans, and could not be effected without their getting possession of a sloop of war lying at St. John's, at the bottom of the lake. It was determined to man and arm a schooner lying at South Bay, and that colonel Arnold should command her, and that colonel Allen should command the batteaus, a name generally affixed to boats of a particular construction, calculated for navigating the lakes and rivers, and drawing but little water, though heavily laden. The wind being fresh in the south, the schooner out sailed the batteaus, and colonel Arnold surprised the sloop. The wind shifting suddenly to the north, and blowing fresh, in about an hour's time colonel Arnold sailed with the prize and schooner for Tyconderoga, and met colonel Allen with his party.

The surprise of *Skeensborough* was so conducted, that the negroes were all secured, and major Skeen, the son, taken while out a shooting, and his strong stone house possessed, and the pass completely gained, without any bloodshed, the same as at Tyconderoga. Had the major received the least intimation, the attempt must have miscarried; for he had about fifty tenants nigh at hand, besides eight negroes and twelve workmen.

Colonel Allen soon left Tyconderoga, under the command of colonel Arnold, with a number of men, who agreed to remain in garrison.

When the news of Tyconderoga's being taken reached 18. the continental congress, they earnestly recommended it to the committees of the cities and counties of New York and Albany, immediately to cause the cannon
and

and stores to be removed from thence to the south end of Lake George; but that an exact inventory should be taken of them, "in order that they may be safely returned, when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain, and these colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the over-ruling law of self-preservation." Whatever may be the drift of a few in congress, the body wish to keep the door open for an accommodation. This was apparent in the advice they gave the New Yorkers, three days before the preceding recommendation. The city and county of New York applied to them for information how to conduct toward the troops expected there. The congress resolved, "That it be recommended, for the present, to the inhabitants of New York, that if the troops which are expected, should arrive, the said colony act on the defensive, so long as may be consistent with their safety and security; that the troops be permitted to remain in the barracks, so long as they behave peaceably and quietly, but that they be not suffered to erect fortifications, or take any steps for cutting off the communication between the town and country, and that if they commit hostilities or invade private property, the inhabitants should defend themselves and their property, and repel force by force; that the warlike stores be removed from the town; that places of retreat, in case of necessity, be provided for the women and children of New York; and that a sufficient number of men be imbodyed, and kept in constant readiness for protecting the inhabitants from insult and injury."

Let us come to the Massachusetts.

Mr.

Mr. Hancock having been chosen at the last election, on December 5, 1774, one of the delegates to the general congress; and the time approaching when it became necessary for him to prepare for his journey, Dr. Joseph Warren was chosen president of the provincial congress *pro tempore*.

The inhabitants of Boston lodged with the selectmen, April according to agreement with general Gage, 1778 fire²⁷ arms, 634 pistols, 273 bayonets, and 38 blunderbusses. The same day the provincial congress recommended to the inhabitants of the sea-ports, the removal of their effects, &c.

A circular letter was written to the several towns²⁸ of the colony, wherein after noting the affair of the nineteenth, it was said, "We conjure you, by all that is dear, by all that is sacred, that you give all assistance possible in forming the army. Our all is at stake. Death and devastation are the certain consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. An hour lost may deluge your country in blood, and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of your posterity, who may survive the carnage. We beg and entreat, as you will answer it to your country, to your consciences, and above all as you will answer it to God himself, that you will hasten and encourage, by all possible means, the enlistment of men to form the army; and send them forward to head quarters at Cambridge, with that expedition which the vast importance and instant urgency of the affair demand." This address was attended to, the men discovered a readiness to turn out for the salvation of their country, and the women applied themselves with cheerfulness to the sitting out of their husbands, fathers and brothers,

brothers, for the important expedition, while the dangers of it were overlooked or disregarded. After a few days continuance before Boston, great numbers returned home; some to follow their business, and others to procure necessaries for the time they had insisted, or meant to insist for. During the interval between this return, and the provincials resorting afresh to the place of rendezvous, the land entrance into and out of the town by the neck, was next to unguarded. Not more than between six and seven hundred men, under colonel Lemuel Robinson of Dorchester, were engaged in defending so important a pass, for several days together. For nine days and nights the colonel never shifted his clothes, nor lay down to sleep; as he had the whole duty upon him even down to the adjutant, and as there was no officer of the day to assist. The officers, in general, had left the camp, in order to raise the wanted number of men. The colonel was obliged therefore, for the time mentioned, to patrol the guards every night, which gave him a round of nine miles to traverse.

May 1. The Massachusetts congress allotted to the different towns, the five thousand poor expected out of Boston, Rhode Island and Connecticut had made paper money, with which to furnish a plentiful substitute for cash, and to answer present exigencies. The men repairing from these colonies, for the defence of the Massachusetts, were supplied with this money; the Massachusetts therefore resolved, that it should pass in all payments.

The general assembly of Connecticut appointed Dr. Johnson, and Oliver Wolcot esq. a committee from their body, to wait upon general Gage, and desired the governor to write in their name to the general, relative
to

to the situation of public affairs, and the late unfortunate transactions in the Massachusetts. He wrote on the twenty-eighth of April; and the committee repaired to Boston with the letter. Both the provincial congress and the committee of safety were greatly alarmed at the transaction. The first wrote to the delegates, whom they had sent to the colony, representing to them the fatal consequences that might follow, upon any one colony's undertaking to negotiate separately, either with parliament, ministry, or their agent here. The last wrote to the colony itself, entreating it to afford immediately all possible aid. Governor Trumbull acquainted them, in his answer of May the 4th, that they need not fear their firmness, deliberation and unanimity, to pursue measures which may appear best for common defence and safety; and that Connecticut will be cautious of trusting promises, which it may be in the power of any to evade. 2.

On the same day, on which general Gage sent a sensible and respectful answer to governor Trumbull, the Massachusetts congress empowered the receiver general to borrow 75,000*l.* sterling upon notes, bearing an interest of six *per cent.* that so they might support their forces; they also forwarded dispatches to the general congress, containing accounts of their proceedings. In their letter they mentioned, "The sudden exigency of our public affairs, precluded the possibility of waiting for your direction in these important measures, more especially as a considerable reinforcement from Great Britain is daily expected in this colony, and we are now reduced to the sad alternative of defending ourselves by arms, or submitting to be slaughtered." They modestly suggested 3.

suggested the necessity of a powerful army on the side of America. They took notice, that the inhabitants of many of their sea-ports, had removed, and were removing their families and effects, to avoid destruction from the ships of war; and expressed their confidence in the wisdom and ability of the continent to support them, so far as it should appear necessary for the common cause of the American colonies.

4. The committee of safety wrote to the governor and company of Connecticut, most earnestly pressing them to send immediately three or four thousand men, that so an important post might be secured, which otherwise the enemy would be likely to possess themselves of, as soon as their reinforcement arrived. The troops were desired to be forwarded in companies as fast as they could be got ready. They sent also to Rhode Island, and urged their marching a body of troops to assist on the like occasion. They proceeded to resolve, "That the public good requires that government in full form ought to be taken up immediately." Advice was received, that a number of transports with troops were just arrived at Boston from England.

5. The provincial congress resolved, "That general Gage has, by the late transactions, and many other means, utterly disqualified himself from serving this colony as a governor, or in any other capacity; and that therefore no obedience is in future due to him; but that on the contrary, he ought to be considered and guarded against, as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country."

9. The committee of safety ordered the commanding officers of ten neighbouring towns, to march one half

half of the militia, and all the minute men under their command, forthwith to Roxbury, that so the British troops might not come and possess themselves of that post. Before it was properly strengthened, general Gage entertained such design. General Thomas who commands there, gained information of what was intended, on the day it was to be executed. His whole force consisted only of seven hundred men. The post comprehended a large broad high hill. A road leads to the top of it, visible in some parts, to persons at the entrance into Boston; it passes over the hill and descends into a hollow, from whence you can turn off, and passing circuitously enter again upon the said road. The general took advantage of this circumstance, and continued marching his seven hundred men round and round the hill, by which he multiplied their appearance, to any one who was reconnoitring them at Boston. The dress of the militia was extremely various, and consisted of their common clothing, which prevented the discovery of a deception, that might otherwise have been soon detected, had they worn a uniform and possessed regimental ensigns. This warlike imposition most probably prevented general Gage's attacking and carrying the post, by the possession of which he would have had it in his power to direct his march to any part of the country he pleased. The colonels of the several regiments were ordered to repair immediately to Cambridge, with the men they had enlisted; and part of the cannon and stores to be removed to some distance for security; and breast works to be erected at different places, to prevent the enemy's passing into the country from Boston neck, and to annoy them if they crossed the river

and advanced through Charlestown, or if they attempted going by water to Medford. The Massachusetts congress concluded on disarming the disaffected inhabitants; and that no person should move with his effects out of the colony, unless leave was granted.

15. They resolved upon a letter to the eastern tribe of Indians, to secure their friendship, and engage them on the side of the colonies, and proposed to raise a company of them to serve in the war. Four days after, the committee of safety voted, that captain John Lane have inlisting papers for raising such company. The provincials reprobate in the bitterest terms, the idea of the Indians being employed by the ministry against themselves; so that there is a seeming inconsistency in their attempting to engage them against the British troops. But let it be remembered, that the Indians will probably take part with the one side or the other; for through a restless warlike temper, they are not in common disposed to observe a neutrality; and that there is a wide difference between employing them against armed soldiers, and letting them loose upon defenceless settlers, men, women and children.

Skirmishes were occasioned at different times and places, by the attempts of each party to carry off stock from the small islands, with which the bay of Boston is agreeably interspersed, and afforded the mixt spectacle of ships boats and men engaged by land and water. These small engagements were not trifling in their consequences. The advantage was generally on the side of the Americans, which elated their spirits. They also learnt from them to face danger, and to run hazards; and it is by being habituated

tuated to these, that probably the greatest quantum of courage is acquired. Frequent skirmishes are good preparatives, by which to qualify raw soldiers to fight as veterans in set battles.

Two sloops, and an armed schooner with soldiers, 21. failed to Grape Island to get hay. The provincials followed them as soon as the tide admitted, drove them off by their approach, burnt all the hay, about eighty ton, and brought off the cattle from the island.

A committee having been appointed to inquire what 24. was the stock of powder in certain towns, reported, that in thirty-nine towns in Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, Plymouth and Worcester, there were $67\frac{3}{4}$ barrels. The rest of the towns in the colony had none worth mentioning. How painful a circumstance, the small quantity of powder, to those Americans, who have any idea of the great consumption which war occasions! The want of it had been sensibly felt for some time; and therefore, beside the adoption of other measures, orders were given for the importation of that, and other military stores; but it must be long before they can be procured in this way, should they come safe.

The Cerberus arrived at Boston with the three generals, 25. Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. They were so assured in their own mistaken apprehensions, that there would be no occasion to draw the sword in support of ministerial measures, that they had prepared to amuse themselves with fishing and other diversions, instead of expecting to be engaged in military service. They were astonished at the situation of affairs, and when in company with generals Gage and Haldiman, asked how the fortie happened. General Haldiman answered, "I

knew nothing about it, till the barber came in to shave me, and said, that the troops were gone out and that they had been fighting. I did not choose that he should know I got my information from him. I therefore called my footman, and sent him out upon a frivolous errand, well knowing, that if there was any truth in what the barber reported, he would bring me word of it, which he did. In this way I became acquainted with what had happened." The newly arrived generals declared their surprize in the significant looks which followed this relation from the second in command.

May 27. About six hundred of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire forces were employed to bring off the stock from Hog Island and Noddles Island, which lie contiguous: the intervening passage is fordable at certain times of the tide. A party went on and fired the hay and barn on Noddles Island, on which a number of marines crossed from Boston; and, upon the provincials retreating to Hog Island, were decoyed down to the water side, when a hot action commenced, which did not close with the day. The king's troops amounted to some hundreds, and were supported by an armed schooner of four six pounders and twelve swivels, an armed sloop, and the barges all fixed with swivels. The provincials were commanded by general Putnam. Dr. Warren's zeal and courage would not admit of his remaining at a distance: upon hearing what was going forward, he repaired to the spot to encourage the men. They had two pieces of artillery, which were well served, and did considerable execution. The night was very dark, but the action continued all through it. Toward morning the schooner got aground upon Winnimmet

simmet ferry ways; the British were obliged to abandon her, and the provincials boarded, and after stripping her of every thing valuable, set her on fire. They lost not a man, and had only three wounded, not one mortally. The regulars were said to have suffered very much, not to have had less than two hundred killed and wounded. The loss was, probably, greatly exaggerated: that, however, had a good effect on the provincials. The affair was matter of no small triumph to them, and they felt, upon the occasion, more courageous than ever.

The provincials went afresh on Noddles Island, and 30.
burnt the mansion house, which answered no good purpose whatever. But there are too many, who destroy property merely because of its having belonged, or being supposed to belong to those Americans, who have taken the opposite side of the question in the present controversy. The stock, consisting of between five and six hundred sheep and lambs, twenty head of cattle, besides horses, was taken off by them in the course of the day. The next day five hundred sheep and thirty head of cattle were removed off Pettick's Island by a party under colonel Robinson. On the night of June the second, June
eight hundred sheep and lambs, together with a number 2.
of cattle, were carried off Deer Island by a corps of provincials under major Greateon.

The agreement with general Gage, relative to the inhabitants leaving the town of Boston, was well observed in the beginning; and their request was granted, with the approbation of all. But after a short time, they were detained upon the plea, that persons going from thence for the goods of those who chose to abide there were
not

not properly treated. The embarrassments and delays which the inhabitants had to contend with, induced the provincial congress to order the sending of a letter to general Gage, to remonstrate with him upon the subject. The letter however did not answer. The truth is, after a number were allowed to depart, great clamors were raised. Such persons as were, or pretended to be well affected to the British government, alleged that none but the ill-inclined were for removing, and that when they were safe with their effects, the town would be set on fire. A demur soon afterward arose about the meaning of the word *effects*, whether merchandise was included; and the general, being sensible, that the permitting articles of that kind to be carried out, might strengthen the Americans in their resistance, would not admit of their removal. This proved a hardship to many who quitted the town, as it deprived them of the resource for living in their accustomed affluence. In a variety of instances, the passports were so conducted, that families were cruelly divided; wives were separated from their husbands; children from their parents; the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wished to attend and comfort them. The general was very averse to the allowing of women and children to leave Boston, thinking they contributed to the safety of the place, and prevented his being attacked; but of that no real danger existed, notwithstanding the high tone of the people without, and the intimations of some within the town. Numbers of the poor and helpless were however sent out, and several of them infected with, or not fully recovered

recovered from the small-pox, by which mean the provincials were greatly endangered.

These were employed in collecting their force, from every quarter, with all possible dispatch, which could not be dispensed with, considering the reinforcements which had arrived, and were arriving at Boston. But they were distressed for want of money; and a letter was dispatched, by the Massachusetts congress, to their receiver general, upon the absolute necessity of paying the colony forces immediately, and directing his attendance forthwith; and also acquainting him, that a gentleman at Salem had 375 l. sterling, which he was willing to lend the province, and which would be of the utmost importance to pay directly to the soldiers, and might prevent the greatest mischiefs. The want of cash obliged them to have a recourse to province notes, which they struck off night and day, for the advance pay of the men who had enlisted.

They were better off as to provision, and established a too plentiful allowance, beyond what the troops could expend. By the general return of the army at Cambridge, it amounted on the ninth to 1581 officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, sergeants, &c. and 6063 privates, in all 7644. But such was the want of regularity, that no dependence could be had upon its exactness. The number of privates was probably much aggravated. Too many of the officers did not scruple to make false returns for their own emolument. The large proportion of them shows that the regiments were far from being full, or were much over-officered. Several of the Massachusetts officers are miserable tools, and must be discarded sooner or later. It is owing to their
having

having been elected by the very privates they command; and to the resignations of a number who had governmental commissions, but have thrown them up, from an apprehension that the Americans will not succeed; this gave an opening for a set of fellows totally destitute of both courage and honor, to push themselves forward and get chosen.

12. General Gage issued a proclamation offering a pardon in the king's name, to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their peaceable occupations, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. All, who did not accept of the proffered mercy, who should protect, assist, conceal or correspond with such, were to be treated as rebels and traitors. It also declared, that as a stop was put to the due course of justice, martial law should take place till the laws were restored to their due efficacy. The proclamation had no other effect than to put the provincials upon looking out for the operations which were to succeed. The Massachusetts congress chose their president, Dr. Warren, second major general in their own forces; the first having been chosen the day before.
- 14.

A discovery has been made, which will deliver down to posterity the name of governor Hutchinson, loaded with infamy. An accident has thrown into the hands of the Americans, the books of his copied letters to the ministry and others, in his own hand writing. By means of them, the several charges brought against him, of his enmity to his own colony, of his consummate duplicity, of his advising ministry to alter the charter, and to use force for the establishment of their plans, and of his assuring them that they would meet with no effectual resistance

resistance from the boasting sons of liberty, whose courage would certainly fail them when put to the trial, have been authenticated beyond the possibility of a denial.

When he quitted the province, all his furniture was left behind in his seat at Milton. After the Lexington engagement, the committee of the town removed it, in order to save it from being totally ruined. Mr. Samuel Henshaw*, desirous of seeing how the house looked, when stripped of all the furniture, repaired thither with the gentleman who had the key. He went at length up into a dark garret, where he discovered an old trunk, which he was told was left behind, as it contained nothing but a parcel of useless papers. Curiosity led him to examine them, when he soon discovered a letter book of Mr. Hutchinson's, which he secured, and then posted away to Dr. Warren, to whom he related what had happened; on which an order was soon sent to general Thomas at Roxbury, to possess himself of the trunk. It was brought to his quarters: and there, through the imprudent exultations of some about the general, the contents were too often exposed to persons resorting thither, and some single letters conveyed away: one for the public good, it being thought that if the same was generally known, it might be of disservice in the present moment, as it had not a favorable aspect upon the staunch patriotism of Mr. Hancock. The letter books and other papers were afterward taken proper care of; and have been submitted to my inspection. Many of his letters, beside what have already appeared, will be printed: those you meet with as his, in the Boston

* Since collector of impost and excise for the county of Suffolk in the Massachusetts,

Gazette, or actually taken from it, you may depend upon as genuine, and faithfully copied.

Mr. Hutchinson behaved much to the satisfaction of the public as judge of probates. He was ready to assist, in a most obliging manner, the widow and the orphan with his advice, whenever their business called them before him. As chief justice he was not exceptionable, only when he supported the cause of government against the claims of the people. When in the chair of the first magistrate, his appointments to different offices were generally of men well qualified for discharging the duties of the same, though mostly supporters of government: he was advised by a British naval officer to secure Mess. Hancock and S. Adams by promoting them; but replied, that though such a scheme might answer in regard to Mr. H. it would not as to Mr. A. for it would be only giving him more power to aid him in his opposition, and that he should not be able afterward to remove him. Under the charter the governor cannot remove from offices without the consent of the council; and Mr. Hutchinson knew that Mr. S. Adams's interest in the council would be greater than his own. He was used to profess the warmest attachment to the good of his native colony, and that he was ever aiming to promote its happiness; and would frequently show the letters he had written about the time of the stamp-act, in opposition to that measure. He ingratiated himself by his free, familiar, and condescending intercourse with the common people, whom he would join, walk and converse with, in his way, from the meeting to his seat. On these accounts he had a number of friends and advocates, who thought highly of him; but since the disco-

very of his letters, they begin to own that they were deceived in the man, and wofully mistaken in the good opinion they entertained of him. He will be execrated in America if not in Great Britain.

The dispatches forwarded to the general congress from the Massachusetts the beginning of May, led on to their resolving themselves into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America. Before they finished this great business, they resolved unanimously "That all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, the island of St. John's, Newfoundland, Georgia, except the parish of St. John's, and to East and West Florida, immediately cease, and that no provision of any kind, or other necessaries, be furnished to the British fisheries, on the American coasts, until it be otherwise determined by the congress." The parish of St. John's was excepted, as it had sent a delegate to congress. They continued to sit in committee from day to day till the 24th, when the honorable Peyton Randolph, being under a necessity of returning home, and the chair being thereby vacated, they unanimously chose the honorable John Hancock esq; president.

A report from the committee being read, the congress ^{May} came unanimously into certain resolutions; and among ^{26.} other matters they resolved, "That the colonies be immediately put into a state of defence: but that, as they most ardently wish for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between the mother country and these colonies, for the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty." It was then resolved, but not unanimously, "That measures be entered into for opening a nego-

a negotiation, in order to accommodate the unhappy disputes subsisting between Great Britain and these colonies, and that this be made a part of the petition to the king."—Afterward "That the militia of New York be armed and trained, and in constant readiness to act at a moment's warning."

Mr. Dickinson, the author of the farmer's letters, is now a member of congress for Pennsylvania. His heart was much engaged in bringing about a reconciliation, and he labored hard in procuring a second petition to the king; but it was opposed by several, and occasioned strong debates for some days. However for the sake of congressional harmony it was at length unanimously agreed to; as they that opposed it had not the least idea of its proving effectual, from a full persuasion that the British ministry would be so irritated, by what had happened on April the nineteenth, as to reject all tenders short of full submission. These nevertheless declined voting, that measures for a negotiation should make a part of the petition. Since the Lexington engagement, many of the New Englanders believe, that the contest must end in absolute slavery or real independence.

29. Congress wrote a letter to the Canadians, styling them *the oppressed inhabitants of Canada*, and themselves *friends and countrymen*. It was designed to persuade them, that their present form of government is a form of tyranny, and that they, their wives and children, are made slaves; to prevent their taking a part against the colonies in the present contest; and to procure a union of all in defence of common liberty.

It was resolved, “ That no provisions of any kind be furnished or supplied to or for the use of the British army or navy, in the Massachusetts-bay, or of any transport.”

June
2.

Congress, for the first time, styled the colonies THE TWELVE UNITED COLONIES, in a resolve, “ That Thursday the 20th of July, be observed throughout the twelve united colonies, as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer. From henceforward the *united colonies* will come into use.

7.

Major Skeen (the father) of Skeensborough, with other officers, upon their arriving the evening before at Philadelphia, in a vessel from London, were taken into custody. Congress being informed of it, and that the said Skeen had been lately appointed governor of the forts of Tyconderoga and Crown Point, and had declared that he was authorized to raise a regiment in America; they appointed a committee to examine his papers, as also those of a lieutenant in the regulars.

8.

They, having been applied to, by a letter of May 16th, from the Massachusetts convention, for their explicit advice, resolved, “ That no obedience being due to the act of parliament for altering the charter of the colony of Massachusetts-bay, nor to a governor or lieutenant governor who will not observe the directions of, but endeavour to subvert that charter, the governor and lieutenant governor of that colony are to be considered as absent, and their offices vacant; and as there is no council there, and the inconveniencies arising from the suspension of the powers of government are intolerable; that, in order to conform as near as may be to the spirit and substance of the charter, it be recommended to the provincial convention to write letters to the inhabitants

9.

of the several places, entitled to representation in assembly, requesting them to choose such representatives; and that the assembly, when chosen, do elect counsellors; and that such assembly or council exercise the powers of government, until a governor of his majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter."

10. It was recommended to the united colonies to collect salt-petre and sulphur, and to manufacture the same into gun-powder for the use of the continent.

11. Congress agreed to the resolutions of the committee of the whole house, " That six companies of expert riflemen be immediately raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia; and that each company, consisting of sixty-eight privates, beside officers, march as soon as completed, and join the army near Boston, to be there employed as light infantry."

12. They proceeded to choose by ballot a general to command all the continental forces, and *George Washington* esq; was unanimously elected.

13. The president informed him of the choice which the congress had made, and of their requesting his acceptance of that employment. Colonel Washington, standing in his place, answered,

" *Mr. President,*

" Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause.

" I beg

“ I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“ But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

“ As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expence of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expences. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”

The colonel did not aspire to the honor of commanding the army; he was even solicitous to avoid it, upon an apprehension of his inadequacy to the importance of the service. The partiality of congress however, assisted by a *political motive*, rendered his reasons unavailing; and led him to “ *launch into a wide and extensive field, too boundless for his abilities, and far, very far beyond his experience,*” as his prevailing modesty induced him to express himself. He is dauntless, active, attentive to business, temperate, humane, formed for gaining and securing the affections of officers and soldiers, far from haughty and supercilious, though naturally reserved; which is a quality that may secure him from answering, without offending, many improper questions, that the New Englanders will be likely to ask, for they are amazingly addicted to inquisitiveness: this is greatly owing to the equality that prevails among them, and leads them into those mutual freedoms, which

are censured in places where distinction in fortune and rank are far more prevalent and disproportioned. The personal appearance of the colonel is noble and engaging. He certainly possesses strong powers of mind, which will tend much to supply, in a short season, any present deficiencies, that the want of more extensive reading, and of more practical knowledge in military matters, may inevitably occasion. His days have been spent in America, and he has had little opportunity of seeing service. As you have already been informed, in 1755 he prevented the total ruin of the British troops after general Braddock's defeat, by covering their retreat with his rangers: but he has never been accustomed to the command of a regular regiment, to which is to be imputed his saying to the volunteers he lately commanded in Virginia, that a gun and a good sword or hanger was all the soldier wanted, without mentioning a word of the bayonet—it was all that the ranger wanted. When the last French war was closed, the cessions made to Britain in these American regions, cut off all expectation of future hostile armies in the country; and made the professed study of the arts of war superfluous to a person inclined to the pleasures of a plantation.

Though the late Rev. Mr. Davis, whom you well remember when at London, inserted the following note in a sermon of his on some special occasion, “ I may point out to the public that heroic youth colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country:” yet as no human knowledge could, at that period, fathom the events of the present day, and as there was no evidence of its being in any degree prophetic,

prophetic, it can be ascribed only to the admiration the author felt while contemplating the character of the colonel. But his being a person of strict honor and probity, was undoubtedly a main reason with congress for electing him to the chief command of the American army. They are fully persuaded of his patriotism, that it is not pretended; that he will not betray the cause of the united colonies; that he will not lavish away those scanty supplies, which call for the greatest œconomy; that he will never prey upon the vitals of his country to enrich himself, nor countenance others in doing it; that while he is intrusted with the power of the sword, he will pay a sacred regard to the civil rights of his fellow subjects; and that he will not add needless barbarity to the unavoidable horrors and calamities of war. He does not understand French; the knowledge of which many will view as an important accomplishment, especially should the continuance of the present rupture make the aid of France hereafter a desirable acquisition. But should the times ever induce French adventurers to repair in shoals to head quarters, he may bless his ignorance for securing him from many impertinent, long, and tiresome applications of military men, of no eminence and little worth, mere soldiers of fortune, who are after rank and riches, both of which the united colonies should deal out with a parsimonious hand, in accommodation to their own circumstances. He entered on the forty-fourth year of his age the 11th of last February. You will wish to know the *political motive*, which may have swayed colonel Washington. You must not look for it in any supposed neglect on the part of the British government, after he had done them

such eminent service in covering the retreat of their troops in 1755. This may be insinuated to lessen his character. But did he even think himself slighted at the time, he would scarce have remembered it, much less have harboured any resentment upon the occasion, for twenty years together. The *political motive* must certainly have been of another nature. It was probably complex. A common danger has united the colonies; but has not eradicated all the jealousies that before existed among them. New York, Pennsylvania, and the colonies to the southward, have not such confidence in the Massachusetts-bay, as to admit that one of their own natives should be the commander in chief. There is too great a nationality among the Bay-men: such a one might be unduly prejudiced in favor of his own colony. Beside, colonel Washington and the other colonists were in pursuit of an honorable accommodation, and had not the most distant thought of separating from Great Britain. They could not be certain, whatever was the case at present, that the Massachusetts would not shortly aim at a separation: it was then a matter of consequence who headed the army. Whatever some of the Massachusetts delegates might wish in their hearts, they perceived the necessity of accommodating themselves to the inclinations of others, at such a crisis; and hence the unanimity with which colonel Washington has been elected; for though it was by ballot, it was not without pre-concerted counsel.

17. A draught of general Washington's commission was agreed to, and ordered to be fairly transcribed, signed and delivered to him. After which the congress declared, that they would maintain, and assist, and adhere

to

to him, with their lives and fortunes, in the maintenance and preservation of American liberty. They then proceeded to choose by ballot Artemas Ward esq; first major general, Horatio Gates adjutant general, and Charles Lee esq; second major general. Two days after, they chose Philip Schuyler esq; third major general, and Israel Putnam esq; unanimously fourth major general.

Having attended to the proceedings of the general congress, down to the choice of their first officers to command the continental army, let us return to the Massachusetts.

The committee of safety, having received various June accounts of the movements of general Gage's army, and ^{15.} of his intention soon to make an attempt to penetrate into the country, recommended to the congress the ordering of all the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice; and to the council of war, the maintaining of Bunker's hill by a sufficient force posted thereon, and the taking of such steps respecting Dorchester neck as to them should appear to be for the security of the colony. Bunker's hill is just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, and is considerably high and large.

Orders were issued, that a detachment of a thousand ^{16.} men, under colonel William Prescott, do march at evening and intrench upon the hill. By some mistake Breed's hill, high and large like the other, but situated on the furthest part of the peninsula next to Boston, was marked out for the intrenchment instead of Bunker's. The provincials proceeded therefore to Breed's hill; but were prevented going to work till near twelve o'clock at night, when they pursued their business with the utmost

diligence and alacrity, so that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a small redoubt, about eight rods square. Such was the extraordinary silence which reigned among them, that they were not heard by the British on board their vessels in the neighbouring waters. The sight of the works was the first notice that the Lively man of war had of them, when the captain began firing upon them about four in the morning. The guns called the town of Boston, the camp and the fleet to behold a novelty which was little expected. The prospect obliged the British generals to alter the plan which they meant to execute the next day. They grew weary of being cooped up in Boston; and had resolved upon making themselves masters of Dorchester heights, and securing the *elbow room* which general Burgoyne proposed enjoying. But the present provincial movement prevented the expedition. They were now called to attempt possessing themselves of *Breed's* hill: on which the provincials continued working, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and a fortification upon *Cop's* hill in Boston, directly opposite to the little American redoubt. It is called *Cop's* hill, though the original name was *Cope's* hill, from the name of the first owner. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by the batteries upon the American works, and yet but one man was killed. The Americans continued laboring indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy. By some unaccountable error, the detachment which had been working for hours, was neither relieved, nor supplied with

with refreshment, but was left to engage under these disadvantages.

Between twelve and one o'clock, and the day exceeding hot, a number of boats and barges, filled with regular troops from Boston, approach Charlestown. The men are landed at Moreton's point. They consist of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, but by some oversight their spare cartridges are much too big for them, so that when the Americans are at length forced from their lines, there is not a round of artillery cartridges remaining. Major general Howe and brigadier general Pigot, have the command. The troops form, and remain in that position, till joined by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of the land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole near upon 3000 men. Generals Clinton and Burgoyne take their stand upon Cop's hill to observe and contemplate the bloody and destructive operations that are now commencing. The regulars form in two lines, and advance deliberately, frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire, but it is not well served. The light infantry are directed to force the left point of the breast-work, and to take the American line in flank. The grenadiers advance to attack in front, supported by two battalions, while the left, under general Pigot, inclines to the right of the American line. One or two of the continental regiments had been posted in Charlestown; but afterward removed to prevent their being cut off by a sudden attack; so that the British are not hurt in the least by any musketry from thence, whatever may hereafter be pretended;

tended; neither do generals Clinton and Burgoyne perceive any*, though properly stationed for observing all that passes. General Gage had for some time resolved upon burning the town, when once any works were raised by the Americans upon the hills belonging to it†: and while the British are advancing nearer and nearer to the attack, orders come to Cop's hill for executing the resolution; soon after a carcass is discharged, which sets fire to an old house near the ferry way; the fire spreads, and most of the place is instantly in flames. The houses at the eastern end of Charlestown are fired by men landed from the boats. The regulars derive no advantage from the smoke of the conflagration, for the wind suddenly shifting, carries it another way, so that they have not the cover of it in their approach. The provincials have not a rifleman among them, not one being yet arrived from the southward; nor have they any rifle guns; they have only common muskets, nor are these in general furnished with bayonets; but then they are almost all marksmen, being accustomed to sporting of one kind or other from their youth. A number of the Massachusetts troops are in the redoubt, and the part of the breast-work nearest it. The left of the breast-work, and the open ground stretching beyond its point to the water side, through which there has not been the opportunity of carrying the work, is occupied partly by the Massachusetts

* General Burgoyne's Letter. † This resolution was assigned by a near female relation of the general, to a gentlewoman with whom she had been acquainted at school, as a reason why the other, upon obtaining a pass to quit Boston, should not tarry at her father's (Mr. Cary's) house in Charlestown.

forces, and partly by the Connecticut, under capt. Nolten of Ashford, and the New Hampshire under colonel Stark.

By the direction of the officers, the troops upon the open ground pull up the post and rail fence, and carrying it forward to another of the same kind, and putting some newly mowed grass between them, form a slight defence in some parts. General Warren joins the Massachusetts forces in one place, and general Pomeroy in another. General Putnam is busily engaged in aiding and encouraging, here and there as the case requires. The provincials are impatiently waiting the attack of the enemy. What scenes now offer to our view! Here, a large and noble town, consisting of about 300 dwelling houses, and near upon 200 other buildings, in one great blaze, burning with amazing fury, being chiefly timber, with but little exception. The only place of worship, a large commodious meeting house, by its aspiring steeple, forms a pyramid of fire above the rest. There, in Boston, the steeples, houses, and heights, are covered with the inhabitants, and those of the military, whose duty does not call them elsewhere. Yonder, the hills around the country, and the fields, that afford a safe and distinct view of the momentous contest, are occupied by Americans of all ages and orders. The British move on steadily, but slowly, instead of using a quick step; which gives the provincials the advantage of taking surer and cooler aim. These reserve their fire, till the regulars come within ten or twelve rods, when they begin a furious discharge of small arms, by which the enemy is arrested, and which they return for some time without advancing a step. The stream of American fire is so incessant, and does such execution,

execution, that the regulars retreat in disorder, and with great precipitation toward the place of landing, and some seek refuge even in their boats. The officers are seen by the spectators on the opposite shore, running down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing them forward with their swords. At length they are rallied; but march with apparent reluctance up to the intrenchment. The Americans again reserve their fire, till the enemy come within five or six rods; then discharge their well-directed pieces, and put them a second time to flight. Such is the loss already sustained, that several of the officers say, "It is downright butchery to lead the men on afresh against the lines." But British honor is at stake: these must therefore be carried. General Howe and the officers double their exertions. General Clinton perceiving how the army is staggered, passes over, without waiting for orders, and joins them in time to be of service. The united and strenuous efforts of the different officers are again successful, notwithstanding the men discover an almost insuperable aversion to renewing the attack. The Americans are in want of powder, send for a supply, but can procure none; for there is but a barrel and a half in the magazine. This deficiency disables them from making the same defence as before; while the British reap a further advantage by bringing some cannon to bear so as to rake the inside of the breast-work from end to end; upon which the provincials retreat within their fort. The regular army now makes a decisive push. The fire from the ships and batteries and field artillery is redoubled. The officers in the rear goad on the soldiers, and the redoubt is attacked on three sides at once.

The

The provincials are of necessity ordered to retreat; but they delay, and keep the enemy at bay for some time with the butt ends of their muskets, till the redoubt is half filled with regulars; the works of which are easily mounted, a few hours only having been employed in throwing them up.

While these operations are going forward at the breast-work and redoubt, the light infantry are engaged in attempting to force the left point of the former, through the space between that and the water, that they may take the American line in flank. They exhibit repeated proofs of undaunted courage; but the resistance they meet with is as formidable and fatal as what their fellow soldiers experience in the other quarter. Here the provincials also, by command, reserve their fire till the enemy is near, and then pour in their shot upon the infantry with such a true direction and amazing success, as to mow them down in ranks. Some of them are slightly guarded by the rail fences abovementioned; but others are quite exposed, and more than is needful; and the regulars will have no reason in future to charge them with fighting unfairly, because of their using defences, not formed by military rules, and workmen. The engagement between the two parties is kept up with great resolution; but the well-aimed fire of the Americans does astonishing execution; and the strenuous exertions of the regulars cannot compel them to retreat, till they observe that their main body has left the hill: when they give way, but with more regularity than could be expected from troops who have been no longer under discipline, and in general never before saw an engagement.

The

The courage and conduct of the provincials that opposed the light infantry, saved their co-patriots, who were overpowered and obliged to retreat from the fort; and who must otherwise have been cut off, as the enemy, but for such opposition, would have been instantly upon the back of the redoubt. While these brave men were retreating, general Warren was shot in the back part of his head, on the right side *: having mechanically clapt his hand to the wound, he dropt down dead.

The retreat of the Americans lay over the neck, which joined the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land; and as the Glasgow man of war and two floating batteries were so stationed as to rake every part of it with their shot, it was feared that they would be cut off after all, but they retired with very little loss. The incessant fire kept up by the ship and batteries across the neck from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements getting to the hill; but this was owing more to the cowardice of some provincial officers than to the execution of the shot.

The number of Americans engaged, including those who dared to cross the neck and join them, amounted only to fifteen hundred; but the unengaged, who appeared in various parts, did, by their different movements, lead many of the Boston spectators to apprehend, at that distance, that they consisted of some thousands.

* Mr. afterward major Winslow, of the American artillery, (who was personally acquainted with the general, and crossed over from Boston to the place of action, after the battle, and narrowly surveyed the body) related his being so shot, and the hand's being bloody as if by the wound.

It was feared by the Americans, that the British troops would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to head quarters at Cambridge, about two miles distant, and in no state of defence. But they advanced no further than to Bunker's-hill, of which they possessed themselves the night of their retreat from Lexington; and here they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same upon Prospect-hill in front of them, about half way to Cambridge. The apprehensions of each side in regard to the other appeared to be similar. Both were guarding against an attack, and in hopes of preventing it. Had the resolution of either led on immediately to a fresh engagement, the day would probably have been far more decisive. But the loss of the peninsula damped the courage of the Americans, and the loss of men depressed the spirits of the British. A veteran officer, who was at the battles of Dettingen and Minden, and at several others in Germany, has said, that for the time the engagement lasted, and the number of men in it, he never knew any thing equal it. There was a continued sheet of fire from the provincials for near half an hour, and the action was hot for about double that period. In this short space, the loss of the British, according to general Gage, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed, of these 19 were commissioned officers, including a lieutenant colonel, 2 majors, and 7 captains; 70 other officers were wounded. Among those more generally regretted, were lieutenant colonel Abercromby, and major Pitcairn, who occasioned the first shedding of blood at Lexington. The battle of Quebec in the late war, with all its glory, and the vastness of the consequences it produced, was not

so destructive to the British officers as this affair of an American intrenchment, the work of only a few hours. Even at the battle of Minden, where the British regiments sustained the force of the whole French army for a considerable time, the number of officers killed, including two who soon died of their wounds, was only 13, and the wounded remaining 66 : their whole loss in killed was 291, in wounded 1037, together 1328 *. That the officers suffered so, must be imputed partly to their being aimed at by the Americans ; and this may account for most of those, who were near the person of general Howe, being slain or disabled. It was a wonder, that the general himself escaped. The men, habituated to take fight, would naturally aim at the officers, without expecting or waiting for orders, from an apprehension that much confusion would follow upon their dropping. Gage's account of the killed and wounded is large ; but does not equal by much what has been given to one of the selectmen of Boston, remaining in town, by a sergeant who declared he had seen the returns from the proper persons, the total of which was 1325. The light infantry and grenadiers, the moment they presented themselves, lost three-fourths of their men, and in a few instances more. Of one company only three or five, and of another only fourteen escaped. A number of tories served as volunteers, several of whom were killed. The unexpected resistance of the Americans called forth all the courage and exertions of the British officers, which did not fail upon the occasion : but whatever commendations they are entitled to upon that account, the Americans are certainly entitled to a

* Entick's History of the War from 1755, Vol. IV. p. 20. printed for Mr. Dilly.

proper portion of the like for having made the same necessary. These have now wiped away the reproaches unjustly cast upon them by their enemies in Britain. Let such praise the spirited conduct of general Howe and of general Clinton; and attribute in a great measure the success of the day to the firmness and gallantry of general Pigot; but let them no more pronounce the colonists cowards, who will fly at the very sight of a grenadier's cap. The British, beside gaining the peninsula, took thirty wounded prisoners, and five pieces of cannon out of six.

The loss of the provincials has been trifling. The killed and dead of their wounds are 139, the wounded living 278, and the missing 36, in all 453. They deeply regret the deaths of major general Warren, of colonel Gardner of Cambridge, of lieutenant colonel Parker of Chelmsford, who was wounded, taken prisoner, and perished in Boston jail; of major Moore and major M'Clany, who were the only officers of distinction that they lost. But the death of general Warren will be most severely felt, and occasions the greatest sorrow. His enemies bear testimony to his importance, by triumphing at his fall, and rating it as better to them than 500 men. Neither resentment, nor interested views, but a regard to the liberties of his country, induced him to oppose the measures of government. He stepped forward into public view, not that he might be noted and admired for a patriotic spirit, but because he *was* a patriot. He was a gentleman of integrity, in whom the friends of liberty could confide. The soundness of his judgment enabled him to give good advice in private consultations. His powers of speech and reasoning com-

manded respect and gained him influence in the provincial congress. He aimed not at a separation from, but a coalition with Britain, upon a full redress of grievances, and a reciprocal intercourse of interests and affection. He was valued in private life for his engaging manners, and as a physician for his professional abilities. The death of an amiable consort had made his life of the greatest importance to his children; he was willing however to risk it in the service of the public. His intrepidity and zeal for the cause he had espoused, together with the electing voice of the provincial congress, induced him to enter upon the military line. Within four days after his appointment to a major-generalship, he fell a noble sacrifice to the natural rights of mankind. He was of a middling size, and of a lowish stature. The ladies pronounced him handsome.

The tories exulted upon the acquisition of the peninsula of Charlestown; but the experienced officers in the British service thought the advantage too dearly purchased, and their countenances became gloomy upon the occasion. The reason for it has been increasing from the frequent and multiplied deaths of the wounded. These have suffered greatly for want of fresh provisions and other supplies, which the country alone could furnish; many would have survived, had they been as well nursed as the wounded Americans out of Boston, of whom but few have died; with regard to the wounded prisoners in town, there are complaints of their having been ill-treated.

The burning of Charlestown, now a heap of ruins, though before the present troubles a place of great trade, has not had the least tendency toward discouraging the provin-

provincials from prosecuting their opposition to ministerial measures, whatever might have been the intention of general Gage. It has not excited fear, but resentment, wrath and execration. Such military executions may distress and impoverish, but will not subdue the colonists. They might answer in the old world; but are not calculated for the new.

In the opinion of many, general Howe was chargeable with a capital error in landing and attacking as he did. It might originate from too great a confidence in the forces he commanded, and in too contemptuous an opinion of the enemy he had to encounter. He certainly might have entrapped the provincials by landing on the narrowest part of Charlestown neck, under the fire of the floating batteries and ships of war. Here he might have stationed and fortified his army, and kept up an open communication with Boston by a water-carriage, which he would have commanded through the aid of the navy, on each side of the peninsula. Had he attempted this manœuvre, the provincials on observing it, must have made a rapid retreat from Breed's-hill, to have escaped having his troops in their rear, and being enclosed. It is said, that general Clinton proposed it. The rejection of the proposal, if really made, has greatly weakened the British army, and probably prevented the ruin of the American.

The colonists may regret, that general Howe conquered at Breed's-hill; but had the provincials driven him back into Boston, it might have been of far greater detriment to the common cause, than the present situation of affairs. The Massachusetts colony would scarce have been easy under the appointment of general Washington

ington to the chief command, had general Ward been crowned with the laurels of victory. The victory, as it now stands, will make the appointment go down easily, and prevent objections. Not only so, but it has occasioned Gage's dividing his army to secure the conquest he has made. He has another post to maintain, which will employ so great a force, as to cramp his future operations. Besides, had the British been driven back into Boston, they might have removed to New York, which would have answered their general design better than remaining cooped up in their present position. In that city and colony they would have had many more friends. There it is that the ministry have their greatest influence. That would have been the securest place for the troops, and where they might have procured those supplies from the country which they are now deprived of. By early reinforcements from Great Britain, it might have been made so strong a post, as to have commanded the North River, and cut off the communication between the colonies which that separates.

The provincials have been indefatigable in throwing up works, and securing the most exposed parts of their lines with strong redoubts covered with artillery. They had strangely neglected fortifying the passage from the neck to the post of Roxbury, and even the post itself; but since the Breed's-hill battle they have compensated for the defect; and to make their defence the more perfect, have pulled down a very good house, (on a point where the road coming from Boston divides) which was built by governor Dudley, and to whose false politics many are ready to ascribe the early origin of those designs

signs which the ministry are now endeavouring to accomplish. The ministerial army abound in military stores and artillery; and are not sparing in throwing shells, and supporting a great cannonade upon the provincial works, especially at Roxbury. It was terrifying at first to raw troops, who not being accustomed to, expected to suffer greatly by it. Some damage has been done among the houses in the street, one or two have been burnt, and a man or two killed. But the provincials stationed there have found by experience, that though the noise is great, the damage is trifling, and therefore despise it. They are so hardened by repeated firing, that a cannonading is no more minded than a common thunder shower.

Breed's-hill engagement excited fresh desires in the inhabitants of Boston to leave the town. The selectmen had given repeated assurances to general Gage, that they had delivered up their arms according to agreement: in order to justify his detaining them, he issued a pro-^{June} clamation, in which he declared, that he had full proof ^{19.} of the contrary, and that many had been perfidious in that respect, and had secreted great numbers. Some few might secrete their sporting guns, or curious arms. No doubt however is to be made, but that the greatest part, or nearly all the training arms were delivered up. The impartial world will scarcely acquit him of having been guilty of a notorious breach of faith, even admitting his own plea. If individuals had not complied with the proposal of delivering up their arms; yet as the community had done it, the innocent were entitled to all the benefits of the agreement. Numbers were afterward allowed to quit the town, but not to take their

E 3
effects,

effects, though that was stipulated in the beginning; the allowance however was thought to be owing to a desire of reducing the consumption of provisions, when a scarcity was approaching.

The day the proclamation appeared, the chiefs and warriors of the *Oneida* tribe of Indians, directed the following speech to governor Trumbull, to be communicated by him to the four New England provinces :

“ As my younger brothers of the New England Indians, who have settled in our vicinity, are now going down to visit their friends, and to move up parts of their families that were left behind—with this belt by them, I open the road wide, clearing it of all obstacles, that they may visit their friends, and return to their settlements here in peace.

“ We Oneidas are induced to this measure on account of the disagreeable situation of affairs that way; and we hope by the help of God, they may return in peace.—We earnestly recommend them to your charity through their long journey.

“ Now we more immediately address you our brother, the governor, and the chiefs of New England.

“ Brothers!—We have heard of the unhappy differences, and great contention between you and Old England.—We wonder greatly, and are troubled in our minds.

“ Brothers!—Possess your minds in peace respecting us Indians.—We cannot intermeddle in this dispute between two brothers.—The quarrel seems to be unnatural.—You are *two brothers of one blood*.—We are unwilling to join on either side in such a contest, for we bear an equal affection to both you Old and New England.

land.—Should the great king of England apply to us for aid—we shall deny him.—If the colonies apply—we will refuse.—The present situation of you two brothers is new and strange to us. We Indians cannot find, nor recollect in the traditions of our ancestors, the like case, or a similar instance.

“ Brothers !—For these reasons possess your minds in peace, and take no umbrage, that we Indians refuse joining in the contest.—We are for peace.

“ Brothers !—Was it an alien, a foreign nation, who had struck you, we should look into the matter.—We hope, through the wise government and good pleasure of God, your distresses may be soon removed, and the dark clouds be dispersed.

“ Brothers !—As we have declared for peace, we desire you will not apply to our Indian brethren in New England for their assistance.—Let us Indians be all of one mind, and live with one another ; and you white people settle your own disputes betwixt yourselves.

“ Brothers !—We have now declared our minds—please to write to us, that we may know yours. We the Sachems and warriors, and female governesses of *Oneida*, send our love to you brother, governor, and all the other chiefs in New England.”

Signed by *William Sunoghsis*, *Nicklasba Watsbaleagh*, *William Kanaghquaesha*, *Peter Thayebeare*, *Jimmy Tekayabeare*, *Nickbis Aghsenbare*, i. e. garter ; *Thomas Yogh-tanowea*, i. e. spreading of the dew ; *Adam Obontwana*, *Quedellis Agwerondongwas*, i. e. breaking of the twigs ; *Handerebeks Tegahsweahdyen*, i. e. a belt (of wampum) extended ; *Johnko' Skeanendon*, *Thomas Tendamatha*, i. e. a fallen tree. Above a hundred years back a Sachem

of family, which was becoming extinct, adopted a numerous family, and to commemorate their own decay and extinction, called the adopted *Teondeatba*, which name is perpetuated, as are several of their family names.

The speech was dated from *Kanonwarohare*, i. e. a head erected on a pole.

My friend, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary among the Oneidas, and who understands the language, interpreted and wrote the above. He tells me, that the Indian names of men, rivers and places, have often special meanings, alluding to events or qualities, as is much the case in the Hebrew language. The Indians are very deliberate in their speeches, often pausing, to engage a closer attention to what they deliver. They have a prevailing species of politeness, frequently wanting in the conversation of the civilized Europeans, too apt to pronounce them, savages and barbarians. They give close attention to the person addressing them. They do not interrupt him while speaking, but wait till he has finished; and consider it as great rudeness to be interrupted. In their councils every one is heard with patience in all that he has to say: profound silence reigns among the audience to the exclusion of all disturbance, and there are no private confabulations.

The above Indian speech seems to refer to one which had been delivered to the provincial congress eleven days before, by the Stockbridge delegate, being the answer of the Indians dwelling there to a message of the former congress. This answer was, "Brothers! we have heard you speak by your letter—we thank you for it—we now make answer. "Brothers! you remember

ber when you first came over the great waters, I was great and you was little, very small. I then took you in for a friend, and kept you under my arms, so that no one might injure you: since that time we have ever been true friends; there has never been any quarrel between us. But now our conditions are changed.—You are become great and tall.—You reach to the clouds.—You are seen all round the world, and I am become small, very little. I am not so high as your heel. Now you take care of me, and I look to you for protection. “Brothers! I am sorry to hear of this great quarrel between you and Old England.—It appears that blood must soon be shed to end this quarrel. We never till this day understood the foundation of this quarrel between you and the country you came from. Brothers! Whenever I see your blood running, you will soon find me about you to revenge my brother’s blood. Although I am low and very small, I will gripe hold of your enemy’s heel, that he cannot run so fast, and so light, as if he had nothing at his heels.

“Brothers! You know I am not so wise as you are, therefore I ask your advice in what I am now going to say—I have been thinking before you come to action to take a run to the westward, and feel the mind of my Indian brethren the six nations, and know how they stand, whether they are on your side, or for your enemies.—If I find they are against you, I will try to turn their minds. I think they will listen to me, for they have always looked this way for advice concerning all important news that comes from the rising of the sun. If they hearken to me, you will not be afraid of any danger from behind you. However their minds are affected,

affected, you shall soon know by me. Now I think I can do you more service in this way than by marching off immediately to Boston, and staying there, it may be a great while before blood runs. Now as I said you are wiser than I, I leave this for your consideration, whether I come down immediately, or wait till I hear some blood is spilled.

“ Brothers! I would not have you think by this, that we are falling back from our engagements. We are ready to do any thing for your relief, and shall be guided by your counsel.

“ Brothers! One thing I ask of you, if you send for me to fight, that you will let me fight in my own Indian way. I am not used to fight English fashion, therefore you must not expect I can train like your men. Only point out to me where your enemies keep, and that is all I shall want to know.”

This speech was delivered the eleventh of April 1775, by the chief Sachem of the *Moheakounuck* tribe of Indians, residing at Stockbridge, after sitting near two days in council. The provincial congress ordered the following reply on the eighth of June, viz.

“ Brothers! We this day, by the delegate from Stockbridge, first heard of your friendly answer to our speech to you by captain William Goodrich, which answer we are told you made to us immediately by a letter, which we have not yet received.—We now reply.

“ Brothers! You say that you was once great, but that you are now little; and that we were once little, but are now great. The supreme Spirit orders these things.—Whether we are little or great, let us keep the path of friendship clear, which our fathers made, and

in which we have both travelled to this time.—The friends of the wicked counsellors of our king, fell upon us, and shed some blood, soon after we spake to you last by our letter.—But we with a small twig killed so many, and frightened them so much, that they have shut themselves up in our great town, called Boston, which they have made strong. We have now made our hatchets, and all our instruments of war, sharp and bright.—All the chief counsellors, who live on this side the great water, are sitting in the grand council-house in Philadelphia, when they give the word, we shall all as one man fall on, and drive our enemies out of their strong fort, and follow them till they shall take their hands out of our pouches, and let us sit in our council-house, as we used to do, and as our fathers did in old times.

“ Brothers ! Though you are small, yet you are wise. Use your wisdom to help us.—If you think it best, go and smoke your pipe with your Indian brothers toward the setting of the sun, and tell them of all you hear and all you see ; and let us know what their wise men say.—If some of your young men should have a mind to see what we are doing here, let them come down and tarry among our warriors.—We will provide for them while they are here.

“ Brothers ! When you have any trouble, come and tell it to us, and we will help you.”

To captain Solomon *Abbaunnaurwaumut*, chief Sachem of the *Moheakounuck* Indians.

The Massachusetts congress wrote to the several towns, June 20. that the continental congress resolved on the 9th instant,

“ that

“ that no obedience being due to the act of parliament for altering the charter of the colony, &c. (as in page 33) and directed them to elect one or more freeholders to represent them in a great and general court, to be held upon the 19th of July at Watertown. They also chose colonel Heath major general, in the place of the late general Warren.

22. Before general Washington left Philadelphia, the continental congress chose by ballot eight brigadier generals, Seth Pomeroy esq; of the Massachusetts colony, the first; Richard Montgomery esq; of New York, the second; David Wooster esq; of Connecticut, the third; William Heath esq; of the Massachusetts, the fourth; Joseph Spencer esq; of Connecticut, the fifth; John Thomas esq; of the Massachusetts, the sixth; John Sullivan esq; of Hampshire, the seventh; and Nathaniel Greene esq; of Rhode Island, the eighth; and resolved, that the officers in the army should receive their new commissions through the hands of the general.

The same day they resolved, “ That a sum not exceeding 2,000,000 of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by the congress in bills of credit, for the defence of America; and that THE TWELVE CONFEDERATED COLONIES (thus they are termed) be pledged for the redemption of the bills.” This is an expedient, without which they are not able to prosecute the defence of America, as they have neither money nor revenues to recur to. Some few of the delegates know, from what has happened in the northern colonies, that the effects of a paper emission will be bad, when it becomes plentiful; has no stable fund for the speedy redemption of it; and cannot be

exchanged in the common intercourse of business for specie or specie value. But the risk of smaller and personal evils must take place, rather than the total subversion of the rights of the united colonies be endangered. No one delegate therefore opposed the present expedient. As the news of Breed's-hill battle had reached them, by means of a quick conveyance, they resolved, "That Pennsylvania raise two more companies of riflemen, and that the whole eight be formed into a battalion, to be commanded by such officers as shall be recommended by the assembly or convention of said colony."

Measures being pursued in North Carolina to defeat the American association, they resolved, "That it be recommended to all in that colony, who wish well to the liberties of America, to associate for the defence of American liberty, and to embody themselves as militia, under proper officers; and That in case the assembly or convention of that colony shall think it absolutely necessary for the support of the American association and safety of the colony, to raise a thousand men, this congress will consider them as an American army, and provide for their pay." They have gone too far to recede from the use of force, and so must employ it wherever wanted to secure their friends, till the point in dispute with Great Britain is settled. The zeal, activity, and unanimity of those Pennsylvanians in general, whose principles admit of hostile resistance, have superseded the necessity of such like resolutions in respect to them. The Philadelphia militia have been formed into three battalions for some time: and in the beginning of the month, these consisting of 1500 men, an artillery company

pany of 150, with two twelve and four six pound brass field pieces; a troop of light horse, several companies of light infantry, rangers, and riflemen, in the whole about 2000, marched to the common, and having joined in brigade, went through the manual exercise, firing, and manœuvres (with a dexterity scarcely to be expected from so short a practice) in the presence of the members of the continental congress, and several thousand spectators. A considerable number even of the quakers have joined in the military association of the city. There is one company composed entirely of gentlemen belonging to that religious denomination of people. They are convinced that weapons of war may be lawfully employed in defending their national rights and liberties, though they are averse to all offensive operations to gratify ambition, covetousness or revenge. The Pennsylvanians are careful to order the militia of the counties to be frequently exercised. The colony has put on the most martial appearance.

About the beginning of June a committee of congress drew up a declaration, containing an offer to Great Britain, "That the colonies would not only continue to grant extraordinary aids in time of war, but also, if allowed a free commerce, pay into the sinking-fund such a sum annually for one hundred years, as should be more than sufficient in that time, if faithfully applied, to extinguish all the present debts of Britain. Or, provided this was not accepted, that to remove the groundless jealousy of Britain, that the colonies aimed at independence, and an abolition of the navigation act, which, in truth, they had never intended; and also, to avoid all future disputes about the right of making that
and

and other acts for regulating their commerce for the general benefit, they would enter into a covenant with Britain, that she should fully possess and exercise that right for one hundred years to come." This declaration was never entered upon the minutes of congress, for ere that could be done, they received the account of the two restraining acts, which proved it's ruin *.

They resolved, " That in case any agent of the ministry shall induce the *Indian* tribes, or any of them, to commit actual hostilities against these colonies, or to enter into an offensive alliance with the British troops, thereupon the colonies ought to avail themselves of an alliance with such Indian nations as will enter into the same, to oppose such British troops and their Indian allies."

General Washington, accompanied by general Lee July and other gentlemen, arrived at Cambridge. A com-^{2.}mittee from the Massachusetts congress repaired to Springfield, about a hundred miles from Boston, on the way to Connecticut, there to receive them, and provide proper escorts for them from thence to the army. They had been treated with the highest honors in every place through which they passed; and been escorted by large detachments of volunteers, composed of gentlemen. The general was addressed by the provincial congress of New York as he came along. They expressed their joy in his appointment; and toward the close said, " We

* Dr. Price's two tracts on Civil Liberty, Part II. p. 111 and 112, 1778. The first restraining act was passed March the 30th, the second April the 13th. The news of them was undoubtedly carried by the vessel from London, which arrived at Philadelphia the evening of June the 7th, and had on board major Skeen.

have the fullest assurances, that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen." The general, after declaring his gratitude for the regard shown him, added, "Be assured, that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself, will be extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony, between the mother country and these colonies: as to the fatal but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen, and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you, in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful and happy country." Since his arrival he has been addressed in the most affectionate and respectful manner by the Massachusetts congress. You must have a recourse to the public prints for his whole answer, but take the beginning for a specimen, "Gentlemen, your kind congratulations on my appointment and arrival, demand my warmest acknowledgments, and will ever be retained in grateful remembrance. In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable but arduous station, I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts-bay, which, with a firmness, and patriotisin without example in modern history, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of our common country. My highest ambition

bition is, to be the happy instrument of vindicating those rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety." This paragraph was extremely gratifying to the persons to whom it was directed.

The general began to give out the congressional commissions, but suspended all further delivery when general Putnam had received his, upon learning that the appointments so degraded general Thomas by ranking him far below his juniors in office, that he could not with any propriety continue in the army on that footing, but must decline serving the country in a military capacity. The several generals regretted the mistake, and wished to have the difficulty removed. Washington acquainted the congress with it, upon which they appointed him first brigadier general in the room of Pomeroy, who had never acted under his commission, and was too far advanced in life.

General Greene testified his regard for the commander in chief, by addressing him on his appointment and arrival, and by declaring the satisfaction he should feel in serving under his command. He was joined in the address by the officers of his brigade. If other generals and officers have done the like, it has not come to my knowledge. This singular instance of respect must make a favorable and lasting impression on the mind of general Washington. The general, after a careful inspection, could not estimate the continental army at more than 14,500 men capable of duty, who had to defend an extent of at least twelve miles. But such has been the precaution and guard exercised on every side of Boston, that the regiment of light cavalry arrived there, has

not set foot beyond the garrison, and serves only to create new wants, and to increase the inconveniencies of the people as well as of the British army. The hay growing upon the islands, together with the sheep and cattle remaining upon them, proved an object of necessary attention: but the continentals possessing a number of whale boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets, were successful in burning, destroying, or carrying off those essential articles of supply, notwithstanding the number of British ships of war and armed vessels.

- July 11. A party of 500 continentals went at night from the Roxbury camp, and getting into 65 whale boats, proceeded to Long Island, and brought off 15 of the enemy, about 20 head of cattle, and a 100 sheep. The
12. next day they went again, and burnt the hay, &c. when there was considerable fighting between them and the British boats and schooners. About six days after, a number burnt the light house on an island, nine miles below Boston, at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of the place.

Since the arrival of the continental generals, the regulations of the camp have been greatly for the better. Before, there was little emulation among the officers; and the soldiers were lazy, disorderly, and dirty. The freedom to which the New Englanders have always been accustomed, makes them impatient of control, and renders it extremely difficult to establish that discipline so essential to troops, in order to success. Discipline will not inspire cowards with courage, but it will make them fight. The army has been thrown into three grand divisions: general Ward commands the right wing at

Roxbury; general Lee the left at Prospect hill; and the centre, in which is included a corps de reserve, is commanded by general Washington. Adjutant general Gates has been of special service in arranging the army. His military skill in those matters has supplied the want of it in others. The public cannot be too thankful for this benefit. Every officer and private begins to know his place and duty. Method and punctuality are growing into use, and becoming habitual. The troops will shortly have the mechanism and movements, as well as the name of an army.

The continental lines are so strengthened, the number of redoubts and mounted cannon so many, as to make an attack upon Cambridge, or a penetration into the country that way impracticable. The British, according to the intelligence obtained from Boston, have lost by death, including the slain, and those who have died of their wounds, near upon 2500, since the 19th of April.

General Washington acquainted congress, that the allowance of provision to the troops, and the mode of delivering it out, are different from what has fallen within his experience, and must prove very wasteful and expensive. The high pay of the soldiers*, which greatly exceeds that of the British, will make a more economical plan necessary. But the most painful information he had to communicate, was that of the want of powder. He discovered, that the whole stock of the army at Roxbury, Cambridge, and the adjacent places, consisted but of ninety barrels or thereabout: that there were no more than thirty-six in the Massachusetts maga-

Aug.
3.

* A shilling a day.

zine, which with the stock of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, made but 9937 lb. not more than nine rounds a man. The continentals remained in this destitute condition for about a fortnight or more till the Jersey committee of Elizabeth town, upon receiving the alarming news, sent on a few tons, which they were obliged to do with the greatest privacy, lest the fears of their own people, had it been known, should have stopt it for their own use, in case of an emergency. During this interval, the great scarcity of powder became a camp talk; and a deserter carried the account of it to Boston. The British dared not to rely upon the intelligence, having been so often deceived. Beside, though they had met with unexpected proofs of American courage, yet they could not believe the colonists possessed of such consummate assurance, as to continue investing them, while so destitute of ammunition. They rather suspected a deep laid plot to insnare them.

All the riflemen are arrived in camp. The congressional resolve, for raising eight hundred, passed on the fourteenth of June, and on the twenty-second they agreed upon two additional companies of Pennsylvanians. No orders were dispatched before the 14th, and the expresses had to ride three or four hundred miles to the persons directed to raise them. The men to the amount of 1430, were raised, completely armed, most with their own rifles, and accoutred for the field with such expedition, as to join the army at Cambridge, one company on the twenty-fifth of July, the rest on the fifth and seventh of Aug. 7. August; all had marched from four to seven hundred miles. The whole business was performed in less than

two months, without a farthing advanced from the continental treasury.

The present is a good time for relating what the congress have been doing.

They agreed to a *Declaration*, in behalf of the colonies, *setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms*. After enumerating the injuries they had suffered, they reprobated the principles of lord North's conciliatory plan, without naming it, and said, "Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives." They went on to mention, the perfidy of general Gage in breaking his agreement with the inhabitants of Boston—the wanton burning of Charlestown, and a considerable number of houses in other places—the seizure of their ships and vessels—the instigating of the Canadians and Indians to fall upon them. They then said, "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force.—The latter is our choice.—We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.—Honor, justice and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them."

July
6.

“ Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and if necessary, *foreign assistance* is undoubtedly attainable.” This intimation of *foreign assistance*, was not founded upon any private information, but flowed solely from the persuasion, that one or more foreign powers will readily embrace the opportunity of a fixed breach between Great Britain and the colonies, to weaken the power of the first by assisting the last. But that they might not by their declaration, disquiet the minds of their friends and fellow subjects, congress assured them, that they meant not to dissolve that union, which had so long and so happily subsisted between them and Britain. They concluded thus, “ With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.”

The declaration of congress has been read with religious solemnity by the chaplains, to the different bodies of the American army about Boston, and received with loud acclamations by the troops, and the numerous spectators who were present upon the occasion. The same day that congress agreed upon the declaration, they resolved upon a letter of thanks to the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of *London*, for their virtuous and spirited opposition to the oppressive and ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British ministry.

The

The petition to the king being ready, it was signed July 8. by the members present. It is a decent, dutiful, and truly filial petition, and deserves to be written in letters of gold, for the sentiments it breathes toward the parent state. Had money been wanting to have purchased it, it would have been wisdom to have bought it at any price. If properly received, it may be made the basis of an eternal compact, between Great Britain and her American colonies, which may to all ages bid defiance to the intrigues of France, and the murmurs of rotten-hearted men either in Britain or America. The sincerity of it may be called into question by the ministry. Let them then put the sincerity of it to the test, by promoting a compliance with the contents; and so overreach those individual delegates, who may wish a continuance of the present quarrel. The colonies as yet desire no more than a redress of grievances, and security against a repetition of them. They most ardently long for a firm and indissoluble union with the parent state upon these grounds. Thus is it with the army. It is the wish of general Washington particularly; and such is its reasonableness, that he hopes and expects, that the contest will be shortly terminated, so as to admit of his eating his next Christmas dinner, at his own delightful residence on *Mount Vernon*.

The same day the congress agreed to an *Address to the inhabitants of Great Britain*. In it they said, "We have again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our sovereign; and to remove every imputation of obstinacy, have requested his majesty to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation.

liation. We are willing to treat on such terms as can alone render an accommodation lasting; and we flatter ourselves, that our pacific endeavours will be attended with a removal of ministerial troops, and a repeal of those laws, of the operation of which we complain, on the one part, and a disbanding of our army, and a dissolution of our commercial associations on the other." They, after that, insinuated the danger the inhabitants of Britain would be in of losing their freedom, in case their American brethren were subdued. The address is intended to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants of Britain, to the measures that the colonists have already taken, or may be obliged further to take, and to obtain the countenance of the former.

The petition to the king, the address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and the letter to the lord mayor, &c. were ordered to be sent under cover to Richard Penn, esq; whom the president was to request, in behalf of the congress, to join with the colony agents in presenting the petition to the king. Mr. Penn sailed four days after this order for England.

12. The congress agreed upon appointing commissioners to superintend Indian affairs in behalf of the colonies. Proper talks to the Indians were ordered to be prepared,
13. which were reported the next day, and accepted.
18. The congress resolved to recommend to all able-bodied effective men in each colony, between sixteen and fifty, immediately to form themselves into regular companies of militia; to acquire military skill, and to be well prepared for defence; and that a fourth part of the militia in every colony be selected for minute men, and be ready to march wherever their assistance may be required.

quired. It was earnestly recommended to those, who could not conscientiously bear arms in any case, to contribute liberally to the relief of their distressed brethren, and to do all other services to their oppressed country, which they could consistently with their religious principles. They also proposed that each colony should appoint a committee of safety, to direct all matters necessary for the security of their respective colonies, in the recess of their assemblies and conventions; and should make such provision by armed vessels or otherwise, as might be judged expedient, for the protection of their harbours and navigation on their sea coasts, against all hostile cutters and ships of war.

This being the day appointed for the continental fast, 20, congress agreed to meet, and go in a body to divine service, both parts of the day. They requested Mr. *Duché* to preach before them in the morning, and Dr. *Allison* in the afternoon. But before service, they met time enough to read some dispatches brought by express from general Schuyler; and a letter from the convention of Georgia, setting forth that that colony had acceded to the general association, and appointed delegates to attend the congress.

The day was kept at Philadelphia, as the most solemn fast ever held in that city. It was religiously observed throughout the united colonies. The united synod of New York and Philadelphia, had published a pastoral letter some time before: it was read on that day, in the churches under their care, which are very numerous. They said in it, "As the whole continent, with hardly any exception, seem determined to defend their rights by force of arms, it becomes the peculiar

culiar duty of those, who profess a willingness to hazard their lives in the cause of liberty, to be prepared for death, which to many must be a certain, and to every one is a possible or probable event. It is well known to you (otherwise it would be imprudent thus publicly to profess) that we have not been instrumental in inflaming the minds of the people, or urging them to acts of violence and disorder. Perhaps no instance can be given on so interesting a subject, in which political sentiments have been so long and so fully kept from the pulpit, and even malice itself has not charged us with laboring from the press; but things are now come to such a height, that we do not wish to conceal our opinions as men. Suffer us therefore to exhort you, by assuring you, that there is no army so formidable as those who are superior to the fear of death. Let therefore every one who, from generosity of spirit, or benevolence of heart, offers himself as a champion in his country's cause, be persuaded to reverence the *Lord of Hosts*, and walk in the fear of the *Prince of the kings of the earth*, and then he may, with the most unshaken firmness, expect the issue either in death or victory."

After several other exhortations, they offered six advices, in substance as follows: "1st. Let every opportunity be taken to express your attachment to king George and the revolution principles. We recommend esteem and reverence for the person of the prince, who has probably been misled into the late and present measures by those about him; neither have we any doubt, that they themselves have been in a great degree deceived by false information from interested persons residing in America.—2dly. Be careful to maintain the union
which

which at present subsists in all the colonies, on which the success of every measure depends.—3dly. We earnestly beseech all societies to watch over their members, and discourage luxury of living, public diversions, and gaming of all kinds.—4thly. We recommend a regard to public order and peace; that all persons conscientiously pay their debts, and to the utmost of their power serve one another, so that the evils inseparable from a civil war may not be augmented by wantonness and irregularity.—5thly. We recommend to all ranks, but particularly to those who may be called to action, a spirit of humanity and mercy. We recommend that meekness and gentleness of spirit which is the noblest attendant on true valor. That man will fight most bravely, who never fights but when it is necessary, and who ceases to fight as soon as the necessity is over.—Lastly, We would recommend to all societies, not to content themselves with attending devoutly on fasts, but to continue habitually in prayer, and to have frequent voluntary meetings for solemn intercession with God on the important trial.”

The accession of Georgia, was owing much to the exertions of the reverend Dr. Zubly; who roused the attention of many in the province to the alarming situation of American affairs; so that at length a general election was held for delegates to sit in provincial congress. They met on the fourth of July in Savannah; and requested the governor to appoint a day of fasting and prayer through the province, that a happy reconciliation might soon take place between America and the parent state, and that, under the auspicious reign of his majesty and his descendants, both countries might remain

main united, virtuous, free and happy, till time should be no more. His excellency James Wright consented, as the request was expressed in such loyal and dutiful terms, and the ends proposed such as every good man most ardently wished. They chose the reverend Dr. Zubly, and four others, delegates to represent the province in the continental congress; and at once entered into all the spirit of the resolutions formed by the other colonies, and adopted similar. They declared, that, though their province was not included in the late restraining bill, they considered that circumstance rather as an insult than a favor, as being meant to break the union of the provinces, and as being grounded on the supposition, that the inhabitants of the excepted province could be base enough to turn the oppression of America into a mean advantage. They also agreed upon an humble address and representation to his majesty, which, as it was not deficient in a certain freshness of colouring, had the appearance of novelty.

July 25. The congress agreed in an address to the assembly of Jamaica; and in it said, "We receive uncommon pleasure from observing the principles of our righteous opposition distinguished by your approbation. We feel the warmest gratitude for your pathetic mediation in our behalf with the crown. The peculiar situation of your island forbids your assistance. But we have your good wishes. From the good wishes of the friends of liberty and mankind, we shall always derive consolation."

They also resolved, That a body of forces, not exceeding five thousand, be kept up in the New York department;—and that a further sum of one million Spanish

nish milled dollars, be struck in bills of thirty dollars each.

They established a post-office, to reach from Falmouth in New England to Savannah in Georgia; and then unanimously elected Benjamin Franklin esq; post-master general. 26.

They proceeded to the establishment of an hospital for an army of 20,000 men; and elected Benjamin Church to be director of and physician in it. 27.

They agreed to an address to the people of Ireland, and in it furnished them with a true state of the colonial motives and objects, the better to enable them to judge of the conduct of the colonists with accuracy, and to determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision. They then anticipated the golden period, when liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, should establish her mild dominion in this western world, and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs, who shall have fought and bled, and suffered in her cause. Toward the close, the language is, "Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shown toward us.—We know that you are not without your grievances.—We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us, has persuaded administration to dispense to *Ireland* some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine.—Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel toward you.—In the rich pastures of Ireland, many hungry parricides have fed, and grown strong to labor in its destruction." In the body of it, a shaft is elegantly pointed at one of the British generals.—"*America* is amazed

amazed to find the name of *Howe* in the catalogue of her enemies :—she loved his brother.” The former lord *Howe* fell by a shot from a French Indian, after landing on the left toward the bottom of Lake George, and while heading his corps and marching under the command of general Abercrombie, to attack Tyconderoga. The Massachusetts assembly, to express their affection and strong sense of his worthy character, had a monument erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey.

29. The quotas of the several colonies toward the common expence was settled, for the present, subject to a future revision and correction.

31. The assemblies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, having referred to the congress the resolution of the house of commons, comprehending lord North's conciliatory plan, they expressed their opinion upon it, to the following purpose, viz. “ The colonies are entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money. As they possess a right of appropriating their gifts, so are they entitled at all times to inquire into their application. This privilege of giving or withholding their monies, is an important barrier against the undue exertion of prerogative.

“ The proposition contained in the resolution is unreasonable and insidious: *unreasonable*, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare without reservation, we will purchase the favor of parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favor; it is *insidious*, because, individual colonies, having bid and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from
their

their sister colonies, whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer. The suspension of the exercise of their pretended power of taxation being expressly made commensurate with the continuance of our gifts, these must be perpetual to make that so. The proposition is altogether unsatisfactory, because it imports only a suspension of the mode, not a renunciation of the pretended right to tax us; because too, it does not propose to repeal the several acts of parliament complained of as grievances.

“ Upon the whole, this proposition seems to have been held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief that there was nothing in dispute between us, but the mode of levying taxes; and that the parliament having now been so good as to give up this, the colonies are unreasonable if not perfectly satisfied; whereas, in truth, our adversaries still claim a right of demanding *ad libitum*, and of taxing us themselves to the full amount of their demand, if we do not comply with it. This leaves us without any thing we can call property.”

Congress had reprobated the conciliatory plan in their address to the British inhabitants; but now they discussed it fully, and exposed its futility. The next day, August the first, they adjourned to Tuesday the fifth of September.

The declaration of congress, their petition to the king, their address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, the other to the people of Ireland, and their opinion upon the resolution of the house of commons, must evidence to the world, that they have men of the first abilities among them, whose writings will vie with the public

lic declarations and acts of any powers, on the greatest occasions, in respect to art, address, and execution.

When you consider the variety of climates, soils, religions, civil governments, commercial interests, &c. which were represented in the former congress, and the late session of the present; and the various occupations, educations and characters of the gentlemen who composed them; you will judge, that the general harmony and unanimity which prevailed in them, is scarcely to be paralleled. At the revolution, such mighty questions as, "Whether is the throne vacant or not? Whether shall the prince of Orange be king or not?" were determined in the convention parliament, by small majorities—the last question by two only. The great majorities, the almost unanimity, with which most capital questions have been decided in the continental congress, will be considered by numbers in no other light than as the happiest omens; or rather as providential dispensations in favor of the colonies; as well as the clearest demonstrations of their cordial, firm, radical, and indissoluble union.

The adjournment of congress affords the delegates, the best means of consulting with their constituents, as to what further measures it may be necessary to adopt; as also certain individuals, who may look forward to independency, a much more favorable opportunity of ripening their designs by private, personal, intercourse with special confidants, than can be enjoyed by an epistolary correspondence. By well-timed hints, they may scatter those sentimental seeds, which shall at length produce events, not at present suspected even by the persons attending to such hints.

The Georgia delegates did not come on, and join the congress before the session was closed.

The inhabitants of South Carolina were so zealous, and the alarm spread by the Lexington engagement so extensive through the colony, that 172 members met in June provincial congress, agreeable to the summons issued three and twenty days before by the general committee.

They unanimously resolved, that an association was necessary, which was drawn up and signed by their president Henry Laurens esq; and all the members present. In it they declared—"Thoroughly convinced that, under our present distressed circumstances, we shall be justified before God and man, in resisting force by force, we do unite ourselves under every tie of religion and honor, and associate as a band in the defence of an injured country against every foe—hereby solemnly engaging that, whenever our continental or provincial councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth, and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety. This obligation to continue in full force until a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America, upon constitutional principles—an event which we most heartily desire. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberty of the colonies who shall refuse to subscribe this association." This was afterward pretty generally subscribed by the inhabitants.

It was resolved to raise two regiments of foot, and a regiment of rangers; and to put the town and province in a respectable posture of defence. The provincial congress were sensible, that the expences would be great. But it was the language there, as well as in the

other colonies, among the friends to freedom, "*We will freely give up half, or even the whole of our fortunes to secure our liberties.*" Bills of credit were struck, which, through the consent and enthusiasm of the people, supplied the present emergency.

So great was the military ardor among the gentlemen, that candidates for commissions were four times more than could be employed; and in the number were many of the first families and fortunes. The militia officers resigned their commissions under the governor, and by their own consent were subjected to the orders of the provincial congress.

Thus the popular leaders, in a few weeks, had an army and treasury at their command. Thirteen gentlemen were chosen a council of safety.

While this congress was sitting, lord William Campbell, governor of the province, arrived, and was received with all the demonstrations of joy usual on similar occasions.

21. The congress waited on him with an address, in which they disclosed to him the true causes of their present proceedings; and declared, that no love of innovation, no desire of altering the constitution of government, no lust of independence, had the least influence upon their counsels; but that they had been impelled to associate and take up arms, solely for the preservation and in defence of their lives, liberties and properties. They entreated his excellency to make such a representation of the state of the colony, and of their true motives, as to assure his majesty, that he had no subjects, who more sincerely desired to testify their loyalty and affection, or would be more willing to devote their lives and fortunes in

in his real service. His lordship returned a very mild and prudent answer.

They adjourned, having first delegated a great part of 22. their authority to the council of safety and the general committee; the former of which is in the nature of an executive, and the latter of a legislative authority. It was particularly recommended to the general committee, to take effectual methods to have the association signed through the province, and to demand from the non-subscribers the reasons of their refusal.

The non-subscribers have been advertised as inimical to the liberties of America, and all intercourse between them and the associators interdicted. An oath of neutrality has been required of all, to which some have agreed; others refusing, have been disarmed; and a few, who would not enter into any engagements for the public security, have been confined to their houses and plantations.

In these kinds of interesting civil broils, matters are generally carried to an excess, and policy often tramples upon truth and justice. Among the non-subscribers, there may have been several real friends to the liberties of America, who could not in conscience subscribe the association.

The South Carolinians, having agreed upon a military opposition, were resolved to defend Charlestown to the last extremity; and yet the whole quantity of powder in the colony did not exceed three thousand pounds. A military opposition, not being originally designed or expected by them any more than by the people of the other colonies, there was the like inattention as elsewhere, in regard to the providing of stores. Reduced now to the alternative of fighting or submitting, they took extra-
G 2 ordinary

ordinary methods to obtain a supply. The inhabitants of East Florida, having never joined in measures of opposition to Britain, the ports of that province were open for the purposes of trade.

Twelve persons, therefore, authorized by the council of safety, sailed from Charlestown for that coast; and by surprise, boarded a vessel near the bar of St. Augustine, though twelve British grenadiers, of the 14th regiment, were on board. They took out fifteen thousand pounds of powder, for which they gave a bill of exchange to the captain; and having secured a safe retreat to themselves, steered for Beaufort, and from thence by an inland navigation escaped their pursuers, and got safe to Charlestown.

North Carolina was no less spirited than South. The militia were arrayed and exercised, and other measures taken to support whatever opposition they might be called to make against the British adherents. Governor Martin was equally vigorous, though not equally successful. He expected, by means of the back settlers, Scotch inhabitants, and Highland emigrants, to have made a stand against the patriotic party, and therefore took pains to fortify his palace at Newbern; but before it could be effected, his attempting to move the palace guns, alarmed the committee of the place; who, at the head of a body of armed men, interposed, seized and carried off six pieces of artillery, which lay behind the palace. This occasioned the governor's making a precipitate flight to Fort Johnson on Cape Fear river. The people, apprehensive that he would strengthen, and prepare it for the reception of a force to be employed in reducing the colony; and concluding, that he would
encourage

encourage the slaves to revolt, in case of the failure of all other means to maintain the king's government; collected at Wilmington under colonel Ashe, who had resigned his governmental commission, and accepted one from popular authority. The colonel designed removing the king's artillery from the fort; but the cannon and stores were secured in time, by order of the governor, who retired on board the king's sloop the *Cruiser*.

July
17,

Colonel Ashe, in the dead of the night, entered the fort, fired it, and reduced the houses and buildings to ashes. The next day he completed the destruction of its wooden defences, to which the fire had not extended; and burnt the houses, and desolated every thing in the neighbourhood of the place, that so they might prove of no benefit to the governor.

18.

The Newbern committee apprehending he means to erect the king's standard, and to commence hostilities, have resolved, " That no person or persons whatsoever have any correspondence with him, on pain of being deemed enemies to the liberties of America, and dealt with accordingly." Persons, throughout the united colonies, dread being advertised for *enemies to the liberties of America*.

In treating of Virginia, we must go back to captain Henry's advancing with his volunteers toward Williamsburch. The alarm it occasioned, put Lord Dunmore upon converting his palace into a garrison, fortifying it in the best manner he could, and surrounding it with artillery. From thence he issued a proclamation, charging Mr. Henry and his followers with rebellious practices, and attributing the present commotions to disaffection in the people, and a desire of changing the

established form of government; which served only to increase the discontent. On the other hand, the Virginians, in their county meetings, applauded Mr. Henry's conduct; and insisted, that they wanted nothing but to preserve their ancient constitution, and only opposed innovations.—The disturbances they charged to the governor's late conduct. The discontents of the people were increased by some procured copies of letters from his lordship to the minister of the American department, and which were severely censured as containing not only unfavorable, but unfair and unjust representations, as well of facts, as of the temper and disposition of the colony.

June
1. In this state of disorder, on the arrival of dispatches from Great Britain, the house of burgesses was suddenly and unexpectedly convened by the governor. The grand motive for it was to procure their approbation of Lord North's conciliatory plan, accordingly in his speech he used his utmost address to carry this point.

The first act however of the house, was the appointment of a committee to inquire into the causes of the late disturbances, and particularly to examine the state of the magazine, that measures might be taken for its replenishment. Means having been contrived by his lordship's order for securing the magazine, and no notice having been given of spring guns being prepared, some inconsiderate young men attempted to furnish themselves with arms out of it, and one of them was wounded. The mode of defending the magazine by spring guns, and the unfortunate accident, irritated the minds of many, who were joined by others. A great concourse of people, from different parts, assembled,
and

and though the house was sitting, broke open the magazine, and took away many of the arms. Some of the members, hearing what was going forward, repaired to the magazine, and though not in time to prevent its being forced open, by remonstrating with all the people they met against such proceedings, prevailed with them to return the arms. The keys of the magazine were afterward delivered to the committee of the house, by his lordship's order; who, upon examination, found most of the remaining powder buried in the magazine yard, where it suffered considerable damage by the rain: the muskets were deprived of their locks; and the magazine was naked and insufficient in all respects.

An account was brought into Williamsburgh, that capt. Collins of the Magdalen, had slipped his cables, and was come up the river with a number of boats, containing a hundred men at least, intended to be marched into the city. Upon this report a number of people assembled under arms, that they might defend the city and its inhabitants, in case any thing hostile should be attempted. Upon hearing what his lordship had said to the council, they retired peaceably and quietly, without any disturbance. However, their readiness to assemble under arms upon reports, without waiting to know whether they were true or false, made such an impression upon the governor's mind, that he with his lady and family quitted the place, early in the morning, proceeded to York-town, and went on board the Fowey man of war. He has the honor of being the first governor*, who thinks it necessary to quit his govern-

7.

8.

* Governor Martin went not on board the Cruiser sloop till the middle of July.

ment, and take refuge on board his majesty's fleet: though in his letter of May the first, he held out to ministry his hope, that with a supply of arms and ammunition, he should be able to collect from among Indians, negroes and other persons, a sufficient force to defend government. He left a message for the house of burgesses, acquainting them, that both himself and family were in constant danger through the fury of the people; that he hoped they would proceed in the business before them; and that he should attend as usual to the duties of his office, and was disposed to restore the harmony, which had been so unhappily interrupted.

9. The message produced a joint address from the council and house, declaring that they would cheerfully concur in any measure he should propose for the security of himself and family; observing how impracticable it would be to carry on business at such a distance, and entreating his return with his lady and family to the palace, as what would also afford great public satisfaction, and be the likeliest mean of quieting the minds of the people.

10. His lordship returned a written answer, in which he justified his apprehensions of danger, and specified several charges against the house of burgesses. It contained many other matters tending to irritate: but concluded with mollifying terms, by no means equal however to the removal of the acrimony excited by the preceding severe charges and implications. It soon produced a reply, of an uncommon length, under the form of an address. The address comprehended the substance of the report of the committee, appointed by the house of burgesses when they first met; and was fraught with all
the

the bitterness of recrimination, as well as with defensive arguments, and an examination of facts. And yet the terms in which it was expressed, were as respectful as possible, and of a nature suited to the representative of their sovereign, and to their own dignity. When upon his lordship's letters to the earl of Dartmouth, they replied to his assertion, "*not a few did join* (in what he was pleased to call an *opprobrious measure*) *to avoid paying their debts, in which many of the principal people here are much involved,*" "We can only answer for ourselves in the negative; and must consider so indiscriminate a charge as extremely injurious." It is well known, that many not only in Virginia, but in every other colony, were deeply indebted to British creditors; and it may be admitted, that several of that number became professedly zealous patriots for American liberty, with a view either of escaping or of delaying the payment of their just debts. However to infer from thence, that the great body of popular leaders in the present dispute, were or are actuated by such a motive would be highly culpable. All the supporters of a good cause should be influenced by principles that are unexceptionable: but the state of mankind forbids the expectation of so desirable an event.

The report of the committee asserted, that a general tranquillity prevailed previous to the affair of the powder, and the governor's declaration about freeing the slaves; that the people had no design or wish after an independency of Great Britain; that they had a most eager desire for such a connection as existed before the late acts of parliament; and that a redress of grievances would
imme-

immediately establish tranquillity, and be productive of a reconciliation with the parent state.

14. The house of burgesses presented their address in answer to the governor's speech; in which they said of Lord North's conciliatory motion, " We examined it minutely; we viewed it in every point of light in which we were able to place it, and, with pain and disappointment, we must ultimately declare, it only changes the form of oppression, without lightening its burden." They closed with these expressive words—" We have decently remonstrated with parliament: they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our king with supplications: he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honor and justice of the British nation: their efforts in our favor have been hitherto ineffectual. What then remains to be done? That we commit our injuries to the even-handed justice of that Being who doth no wrong; earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the councils, and prosper the endeavours, of those to whom America hath confided her hopes, that, through their wise direction, we may again see, re-united, the blessings of liberty and property, and the most permanent harmony with Great Britain." The body of the address contains this remark, " Lord Chatham's bill on the one hand, and the terms of the congress on the other, would have formed a basis for negotiation; which a spirit of accommodation, on both sides, might perhaps have reconciled."

Every day afforded new ground for bickering, and every incident fresh room for altercation between the governor and house of burgesses. At length the necessary

sary bills having passed the house, and the advanced season requiring the attendance of the members in their several counties, the council and burgesses jointly entreated the governor's presence to give his assent to them and finish the session. After messages to and fro, his lordship declined meeting them at the Capitol, though they pledged their honor and every thing sacred for his security; but he informed them, that he would be ready to receive them at his present residence. This answer put an end to all public correspondence between the governor and the colony. The burgesses passed resolutions declaring, that the message requiring them to attend him on board a ship of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges; that they had reason to fear a dangerous attack might be meditated against the unhappy people of the colony; and that it was therefore their opinion, that they should prepare for the preservation of their property, and their inestimable rights and privileges. They then made strong professions of loyalty to the king, and amity to the mother country, and adjourned themselves to October.

A convention of delegates was appointed to supply July the place of the house of burgesses, who, having an ^{18.} unlimited confidence reposed in them by the people, became accordingly possessed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. They also formed themselves into a committee to take into consideration the state of the colony; and the next day resolved, that a sufficient armed ^{19.} force be immediately raised and embodied, for its defence and protection.

Nothing more need be said of the Delaware counties, than that they remain firm to the cause they have espoused.

The

26. The Maryland convention met at Annapolis, and unanimously resolved upon an association to be signed by the members, and by all other the freemen of the province. They said, "We do unite as one band, and solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, and to America, that we will, to the utmost of our power, support the present opposition, carrying on, as well by arms as by the continental association, restraining our commerce." They also resolved, "That there be forty companies of minute men enrolled as soon as may be; and that every able-bodied effective freeman within the province, between sixteen and fifty (clergymen of all denominations, practising physicians, the household of the governor, minute and artillery men, and persons who from their religious principles cannot bear arms in any case, excepted) as soon as may be, and at furthest before the fifteenth of September, shall enroll himself in some company of militia." They established a council of safety consisting of sixteen persons, who are to regulate the operations of the minute men and militia, and are also, during the recess, to do all other matters for securing the province, and for providing for its defence.

They ordered committees of observation and of correspondence to be chosen; and bills of credit to the amount of 266,666 dollars to be struck with all convenient speed for the service of the province.

The Pennsylvania assembly have established a military association through the colony, and ordered several battalions to be raised, clothed and armed. The whole colony is preparing for a vigorous defence. The change in the assembly from a most pacific to a martial complexion, is owing to the times. The number of Quakers returned

returned to serve in it, was not so large as formerly; and some of them, being upon principle opposed to present measures, have resigned their seats, (which they have the privilege of doing) and left them to be filled by persons of a different judgment.

The Philadelphians, with a view to the safety of the city, are also engaged in making huge machines to sink in the narrow part of the Delaware, and in completing a number of large galliots, carrying at their bows guns from 32 to 48 pounders, swivels, &c. The machines are formed of large heavy square pieces of timber. Two long ones, at a proper parallel distance from each other, form the horizontal base that is to rest on the bed of the river. Right over these are placed two others of similar size, rising from toward the ends of the horizontal base, in such an angular direction, as with their elevated ends, fortified with strong iron points, to pierce any vessels which may sail against them. The degree of elevation is such as to give the greatest resistance with the least danger to the timbers. The four main pieces are joined to each other by many shorter ones. The whole machine is so contrived that, with its own weight, and what may be added to it when sunk, it can neither be broken, nor forced backward, nor turned over. They have given the name of *chevaux de Frise* to these machines.

There is nothing in New Jersey which requires particular notice.

The New Yorkers were freed from the apprehensions they were under, through the expectation of troops from Europe, soon after their arrival. The second embarkation from Corke, consisting of four regiments, got
safe

safe to Sandy Hook, where they received orders from general Gage to sail for Boston. They were wanted to strengthen the army, after the loss it had sustained, by Breed's-hill battle. The few troops that were stationed at the barracks, about fifty, went on board the Asia man of war, some time before, on the sixth of June; so that the city of New York was wholly without regulars.

June
6.

24. Governor Tryon arrived at New York from London. He is in much esteem with a large number of the citizens and others; and if any one can succeed in drawing off that colony from the union, he will probably be the person. It is not to be thought, that he is limited by ministry either as to expences or promises; but may suit himself to persons and emergencies. There is apparently good policy in employing him to effect the recovery of New York to the side of administration. He was in hope of finding the province disunited from the others.

July
3.

The mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city, presented him with a congratulatory address; complimented him upon the rectitude of his former administration, and expressed their trust, in the aid of his intercession with his majesty, for a speedy termination of the hostile animosities of his contending subjects.

The governor in his answer confessed his disappointment at the change of circumstances in the province. To palliate the treatment, which the memorial and representation of the New York general assembly met with, and to conciliate the minds of as many as could confide in his expressions, he closed with saying, "I am acquainted in a dispatch from the earl of Dartmouth,

that the memorial and representation of the general assembly of this province, were unfortunately blended with expressions containing claims, which made it impossible for parliament, consistent with its justice and dignity to receive them; yet the petition to the king has been presented to his majesty, who was pleased to receive it with the most gracious expressions of regard and attention to the humble requests of his faithful subjects in New York; and I am authorized to say, that nothing can give greater satisfaction to the royal breast, than to see us again a happy and united people."

The same day the address was presented, all the king's stores of various kinds were taken from Turtle Bay and carried clear off.

Connecticut and Rhode Island having had no occasion to change their forms of government, proceed in their usual modes of business, to fulfil the engagements they are under, to the united colonies in general, and the Massachusetts in particular, and flag not in their ardor to support the cause of America.

Let us return to the Massachusetts. Political necessity obliged the provincial congress to resolve, "That ^{June} the notes and bills of the colony of Rhode Island, of ^{28,} this and all the other colonies (except Nova Scotia and Canada) shall be taken and received, and accounted a good and sufficient tender for the payment of all debts and damages arising upon the non-performance of any promises; and the committees of correspondence, inspection and safety, in the respective towns, are to return the names of all persons who shall contravene this resolve."

To

July 9. To procure a supply of articles for the troops of the colony, a resolve passed for the inhabitants of the several towns to furnish shirts, breeches, stockings and shoes, for the soldiers: in a few days after, a recommendation passed, not to kill any sheep or lambs, excepting in cases of absolute necessity.

In consequence of the letters sent to the several towns and districts within the colony, for the choice of representatives, in order to take up a form of government, more than two hundred members met at Watertown, and constituted the house of assembly. The general fast interposing, the counsellors were not chosen till Friday morning the twenty-first.

Aug. 8. The house agreed to raise 30,000*l.* sterling. The raising of money will probably produce much dissatisfaction. Great numbers, who are warm for the liberties of America, and violently opposed to being taxed by Great Britain, are so inconsiderate as to imagine, they are to be exempted from almost every tax upon their succeeding in the present contest. They are for enjoying all the advantage of civilized society, without paying their proportion toward the expence of supporting it.

9. Captain Linzee, of the Falcon sloop of war, chased two schooners from the West Indies, one of which he soon brought to; the other, having the advantage of a fair wind, put into Gloucester harbour, at Cape Anne; and the captain pursued into the harbour, bringing the one with him. He anchored and sent two barges with fifteen men each, armed with swivels and muskets, attended with a whale boat, in which was the lieutenant and six privates, meaning to seize the loaded schooner.

The

The militia and inhabitants took the alarm, collected, ^{1775.} fired from the shore, and killed three men, beside wounding the lieutenant. On this the captain sent the other schooner and a small cutter well armed, with orders to fire on the damn'd rebels wherever they could see them, while he engaged in cannonading the town. Not a ball struck or wounded a single person, though they passed through the houses filled with women and children, in almost every direction. The party at the water-side soon made themselves masters of both the schooners, the cutter, the two barges, the boat, and every man in them. The action lasted several hours. The provincials lost but one man, and had two others wounded; one of whom is since dead. They captured thirty-five men belonging to the Falcon, several of whom are wounded, and one of them since dead. Captain Linzee after this warped off, having lost half his men.

The scarcity of ammunition is so alarming, that the ^{12.} house agreed upon recommending it to the inhabitants, not to fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark, without real necessity, to prevent a waste of powder.

About five weeks since, general Gage sent two officers to New York, to procure all the men they could, out of ships expected from Scotland or elsewhere, to join him as volunteers; and with orders to return to Boston with all expedition. This bespeaks a want of men. The want of fresh provision will be supplied for a short space, by the return of a fleet of transports, this ^{15.} day, from the Sound, bringing with them about 2000 sheep, and 110 oxen, beside eggs, butter, &c. which they have taken off from Gardner's and other islands.

1775. Governor Wentworth still continues in New Hampshire; but the influence of the popular leaders is increasing, while his diminishes daily. He can no longer confide, as formerly, in the attachment of the people for safety; and has for these two months taken up his residence at Fort William and Mary.

The bulk of the colonists have certainly been much encouraged in their struggles against the claims of parliament and administration, from the multiplied assurances they have received that the body of the people in England wish them success; and from their knowing that many of the most virtuous and independent of the nobility and gentry are for them; and among this order, in their estimation, the best bishop that adorns the bench *, as great a judge as the nation can boast †, and the greatest statesman it ever saw ‡.

L E T T E R II.

Roxbury, December 30, 1775.

THE accession of *Georgia* to the colonies will occasion their being called henceforward THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES. To aid in the defence of that colony, congress resolved early in November, to keep up a battalion there at the continental expence. Toward the close of the year,

* The bishop of St. Asaph. † Lord Camden. ‡ Lord Chatham.

Dr. Zubly, perceiving that there was an apparent propensity to independency in several of the delegates, withdrew and returned to Georgia. His opposition to it being well known, and his influence upon the Georgia inhabitants being feared, it was contrived, that one of his brother delegates, Mr. John Houston, should likewise return, with a design of counteracting him, in case he should set himself to oppose independency.

The first hostilities which happened in this colony between the opposite parties, commenced about the middle of November, when a number of royalists attacked the American whigs, and by their superiority obliged the latter, after three days, to surrender the fort in which they expected to make an effectual resistance.

The governor of *South Carolina*, lord William Campbell, after the provincial congress had raised troops, gave commissions to the officers of the volunteer companies of militia, that were formed and trained on the recommendation of the popular leaders. His lordship also convened an assembly, of which several officers in the provincial regiments were members; but finding them and their colleagues inflexibly set against his schemes, he dissolved them, and never afterward issued writs for a new Sept. 15th election. He was indefatigable in secretly promoting opposition to the popular measures, and kept up a constant correspondence with the back country royalists. These people were told, that it would be impossible to resist the power of Britain; that the whole dispute was about a trifling tax on tea, and that the expences of the new raised provincial regiments would be infinitely more than the insignificant taxes imposed by the British parliament. They were therefore much disaffected with

1775. the proceedings of the provincial congress. It being suspected in Charlestown, that their disaffection was greatly owing to the governor; in order to ascertain, if possible, the connection between them, captain Adam M'Donald, of a new raised provincial regiment, introduced himself to his lordship, about the middle of September, under the feigned name of Dick Williams, a supposed confidential messenger from these royalists. In this assumed character he had a long conversation with his lordship, and was informed, that a letter received the day before set forth, "That his majesty was determined speedily to send out troops to execute his schemes from one end of the continent to the other." The conversation being reported to the general committee, they sent a deputation, of which captain M'Donald was one, to demand a communication of his lordship's late dispatches from England, and a perusal of his correspondence with the back country. These requisitions being refused, it was moved to take the governor into custody, but the motion was rejected by a great majority. His lordship, mortified at the deception which had been passed upon him, and distrustful of his personal safety in Charlestown, took the provincial seal with him, and retired on board the Tamar sloop of war.

Nov. When the new provincial congress met, it was thought
1. by the royalists, that the determinations of the former would have been reversed; but they were disappointed.

In order to obstruct the passage of the king's ships to Charlestown, through Hog Island channel, a number of hulks were ordered to be sunk, and captain Tufts had the charge of covering the workmen, on board a schooner,

schooner, armed for the security of the town, and called ^{1775.}
 the Defence. The Tamar and Cherokee warped in the ^{12.}
 night, within gun shot of him, and began a heavy cannonade; but at sun-rise dropped down to their moorings, without having done any material injury. This was the commencement of open hostilities in South Carolina.

The provincial congress impressed the ship Prosper, ^{13.}
 and ordered her to be fitted as a frigate of war. They
 voted to raise a regiment of artillery, to consist of three ^{14.}
 companies of a hundred men each; and that bills of credit amounting to 17,000*l.* sterling should be struck for their support. About the same time a new council of safety was appointed, and authorized "to do all such matters and things relative to the strengthening and defending the colony, as should by them be judged expedient and necessary."

That you may comprehend the nature of the opposition to popular measures in this colony, you must be informed of various events relating to the back country. About 1770, the extreme difficulty of bringing criminals from remote settlements to a legal condemnation, induced numbers, styled regulators, to take the law into their own hands. They inflicted corporal punishment on persons without a regular condemnation. Lord Charles Greville Montague, the governor, to correct these abuses, advanced one Scovil, a man of low character, to the rank of colonel, and employed him to enforce settled law among these regulators. He adopted severe measures, which involved multitudes in great distress, who having suffered so for opposing regular government, could not be persuaded to co-operate with

H 3

their

1775. their countrymen in the support of congresses and committees, whom they conceived to be similar to their own regulating assemblies.

A number of Dutch inhabitants had settled in the same part of the country, on lands granted by the government. They brought from Europe the monarchical ideas of their holding their possessions at the king's pleasure. They were therefore easily made to believe, that the loss of their freeholds would be the consequence of their acceding to American measures. After the peace of Paris, lands were offered upon easy terms, to induce foreign Protestants to exchange their native country for a settlement in South Carolina. The Irish, who accepted these offers, were generally royalists. They conceived that they owed all their indulgences to the bounty of the king, and so took part with his friends. Their countrymen, who had emigrated from the northern provinces, commonly entered with zeal into the new measures.

The violence of some over-zealous friends, who insisted upon their neighbours signing the association, produced in several a determined spirit of opposition.

At an election for representatives in the first popular assemblies, Moses Kirkland was an unsuccessful candidate. In wrath he exclaimed, 'If this dispute becomes serious, the people of South Carolina shall feel the weight of my influence.' The provincial congress, to gain him, gave him the rank of captain in one of the provincial regiments; but he was disgusted, that his rival was promoted to the higher rank of major. He accepted his commission, and enlisted men; but soon resigned,

resigned, and to the utmost encouraged opposition to the measures of congress. 1775.

The people in general felt themselves secure in their persons and property. It was therefore easy to offer arguments against renouncing present comforts, to ward off future evils. It was insinuated to them, that the gentlemen on the sea coast, in order to obtain their tea free from tax, were adopting measures which would involve the back country in the want of salt, osnaburgs, and imported necessaries. The popular leaders could not urge the inhabitants to the dangers and expences of war, otherwise than on speculation, to prevent the more alarming consequences which would probably take place in future, if the proceedings of the British parliament, against Boston and the Massachusetts, were suffered to pass into precedent.

Though there were many royalists in most parts of the colony, the principal settlement, in which they outnumbered the friends of congress, was in the country between the Broad and Saluda rivers. When it was determined to raise troops, the inhabitants of that part could not be persuaded, that the measure was necessary. They were happy, and free from present oppression, and averse to believing that any designs, inimical to American liberty, had been adopted by the British government. The council of safety sent the honorable William Henry Drayton, and the reverend William Tennent, to explain to them the nature of the dispute. They had several meetings, and much eloquence was exerted to induce them to sign the association. Some subscribed; but the greater part could not be persuaded, that there was any necessity for congresses, committees,

1775. or military establishments. Suspicions prevailed. The friends of the royal government doubted the authenticity of all pamphlets and news-papers, which ascribed to the British troops in Boston, or to the British government, any designs injurious to the rights of the colonists. They viewed the whole as an imposition by artful men. The friends of congress suspected the leading men of the royalists to be in the pay of lord William Campbell. Reports were circulated by one party, that a plan was laid to seize the commissioners sent by the council of safety: by the other, that the third provincial regiment was brought up to compel the inhabitants to sign the association. Motives and designs were reciprocally attributed to each other of the most mischievous tendency. The royalists imbodyed for reasons similar to those which had induced the other inhabitants to arm themselves against Britain. They suspected their adversaries of an intention to dragoon them into a compliance with the measures of congress; and they, in their turn, were suspected of a design to commence hostilities against the associators, for disturbing the established royal government. Camps were formed in opposition to each other, and great pains taken to increase their respective numbers. Moderate men employed their good offices; and after some days, the leaders on both sides met in conference. Several explications having taken place, a treaty was reciprocally agreed to, by which it was stipulated, that the royalists should remain in a state of neutrality. Both parties retired to their homes, and a temporary calm succeeded.

Sept.
16.

But Mr. Robert Cunningham, a principal leader among the royalists, continued to encourage opposition

to popular measures, and declared that he did not consider himself as bound by the treaty. This declaration was construed as an evidence of a fixed intention again to disturb the peace. To prevent his attempting it, he was apprehended, brought to Charlestown, and committed to jail. His brother, Mr. Patrick Cunningham, instantly armed a party of friends and pursued, in expectation of rescuing him. The party collected on this occasion seized a thousand pounds of powder, and a quantity of lead, which was passing through their settlement, as a present to the Cherokee Indians; and was intended to confirm them in their pacific disposition. Some persons among the royalists propagated a report, that it was accompanied with instructions to them, to kill every man who should refuse to sign the association. This answered the purpose of inflaming the minds of several. It was also confidently asserted, that private marks had been agreed on by the popular leaders and Indian chiefs, to distinguish the associators from the non-associators; the former of whom were to be spared, and the latter sacrificed. Great pains were moreover taken, to exasperate the inhabitants against the council of safety, for furnishing the Indians with powder, at a time when the white people could not be supplied with that article.

Lord William Campbell had uniformly recommended to the royalists to remain quiet till the arrival of a British force. This advice had been providentially frustrated. Similar reasons of policy to those which induced the royal governor to recommend inaction to the royalists, operated with the council of safety to crush their intestine foes before that force should arrive. The rising occasioned by the seizing of Mr. Cunningham, was construed

1775. construed into a violation of the treaty, and gave ground to doubt the sincerity of their engagements to continue in a state of neutrality. It was feared, that as soon as a proper opportunity offered, they would throw their weight into the royal scale. It was therefore judged necessary, to march an army into their settlements before that event should exist. But to remove prejudices, the provincial congress, first of all circulated through their settlements, a declaration assigning the reasons for the present to the Cherokees, and detecting the invidious misrepresentations that had been put upon the measure. They solemnly declared before Almighty God, that they did not believe any order was ever issued, or any idea ever entertained by the late council of safety, or any member of it, or by any person under authority of congress, to cause the Indians to commence hostilities upon the frontiers or any part thereof. They then sent forward a large body of militia and new raised regulars, who were joined by seven hundred militia from North Carolina, and two hundred and twenty regulars. They soon had an army of several thousand men under their direction, with instructions "to apprehend the leaders of the party which had seized the powder, and to do all other things necessary to suppress the present and prevent future insurrections." Assurances were publicly given, that no injury should be done to inoffensive persons, remaining quietly on their plantations. The leaders of the royalists found great difficulty in persuading their followers to imbody; and they themselves were destitute of political knowledge and military experience. The unanimity of the whigs, and the numbers, which from all sides invaded the settlements of the royalists, dis-

heartened them from facing their adversaries in the field. 1775.
 The whigs acted by system, and in concert with their brethren of neighbouring colonies, and were directed by a council of safety, composed of the greatest and wisest men in the province. They easily carried every point, seized the leaders of the royalists, and dispersed their followers, without the loss of a single man: most of the royalists returned to their plantations, while several retired over the mountains.

In *North Carolina*, the committees of the district of Wilmington alleged a number of charges against governor Martin, particularly those of fomenting a civil war and of exciting an insurrection among the negroes; upon which they declared him an enemy to America in general, and to that province in particular, and forbade all persons holding any communication with him.

When their proceedings appeared in print, the go- Aug.
 vernor published his remarks upon them, in a procla- 8.
 mation of uncommon length; which the provincial con-
 gress, in their subsequent meeting at Hillsborough, re-
 solved unanimously to be a false, scandalous, scurrilous, 25.
 malicious and seditious libel, and ordered to be burnt
 by the hands of the common hangman. Four days
 before, a plan of confederation was laid before them.
 Upon mature deliberation they resolved, that "They
 are of opinion, that the plan of general confederation
 between the united colonies is not at present eligible;
 and that the present association ought to be further relied
 on for bringing about a reconciliation with the parent
 state, and a further confederacy ought only to be adopt-
 ed in case of the last extremity." Afterward Mr. Sept.
 Hooper submitted to them an address to the inhabitants 8.
 of

1775. of the British empire, which was unanimously received. In answer to the suggestion, that independence was their object, they say, " We again declare, and we invoke that Almighty Being who searches the recesses of the human heart, and knows our most secret intentions, that it is our most earnest wish and prayer to be restored, with the other united colonies, to the state in which we and they were placed before the year 1763, disposed to glance over any regulations which Britain had made previous to this, and which seem to be injurious and oppressive to these colonies, hoping that, at some future day, she will benignly interpose, and remove from us every cause of complaint."

They broke up two days after, having sat three weeks. During the session, they agreed upon raising a 1000 men; upon striking a quantity of paper money, for the subsistence of the troops; upon enlisting a considerable body of minute men; in a word, upon putting the colony immediately into a state of defence.

Within a fortnight after the session closed, the grand repository of the governor's magazine was discovered. In the palace garden, under a bed of cabbages, was found a barrel, containing about three bushels of gunpowder. In the palace cellar were dug up two quarter casks of the same commodity; and in the garden about 1000 lb. of musket balls, about 500 weight of iron swivel balls, a large quantity of small shot, lead, iron, worms for the cannon, and the whole apparatus for his park of artillery.

The *Virginia* convention continued to establish rules for the defence and regulation of the colony; and passed an ordinance for embodying a sufficient force for its protection.

protection. It appearing to them, that only fifteen half ^{1775.} barrels of powder had been taken out of the magazine by Lord Dunmore's order, they valued it fairly, and then directed the surplus money received by Patrick ^{Aug.} Henry esq; to be returned to the receiver general. ^{22.}

Upon a petition of fundry merchants and others, natives of Great Britain, mostly from Scotland, praying to be exempted from bearing arms against the people among whom they were born, and promising to observe a strict neutrality in case the colony was attacked by the British troops, the convention unanimously recommended ^{25.} to the committees, and others the good people of the colony, to treat all such resident natives as did not show themselves enemies to the common cause of America, with lenity and friendship; to protect all persons whatsoever in the just enjoyment of their civil rights and liberty; to discountenance all national reflections; and to promote union, harmony, and mutual good will, among all ranks of people.

Before the session ended, the delegates in a declaration set forth the cause of their meeting, and the necessity of immediately putting the country into a posture of defence, for the better protection of their lives, liberties and properties. In it they solemnly declare, " before God and the world, we do bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty; and will, so long as it may be in our power, defend him and his government, as founded on the laws and well-known principles of the constitution: we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour by every honorable mean, to promote a restoration of that friendship and amity, which so long and happily subsisted between our fellow subjects in Great Britain, and
the

1775. the inhabitants of America: and as, on the one hand, we are determined to defend our lives and properties, and maintain our just rights and privileges, at even the extremest hazard, so, on the other, it is our fixed and unalterable resolution to disband such forces as may be raised in this colony, whenever our dangers are removed, and America is restored to its former state of tranquillity and happiness."

Lord Dunmore however, being joined by a number, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the country, as well as by a parcel of run-away negroes, and supported by the naval force upon the station, endeavoured to establish such a marine, as might enable him, by means of the noble rivers with which the colony abounds, to be always at hand, and ready to profit by every favorable occasion which should offer. He by degrees fitted and armed several vessels, in one of which he constantly resided, never setting his foot on shore, but in an hostile manner. The force was calculated only for depredations; and while these were confined to the procuring of provisions or other necessaries, respect was shown to the rank and office of the governor: but being at length changed into open and avowed hostility, his lordship met with resistance. The Virginians could not brook his seizing persons, and conveying them on board the ships; destroying plantations, and carrying off the negroes; and burning houses. They therefore sent detachments of the new-raised forces to protect the coasts; and from thence ensued a small mischievous war, incapable of affording honor or benefit.

During this state of hostility, his lordship procured a few soldiers, with whose assistance an attempt was made

to burn the port-town of Hampton. The inhabitants 1775. having a previous suspicion of the design, sunk a number of boats across the channel to prevent a landing. The ships, having surmounted all obstacles in the night, drew up close to the town, and began a furious cannon- Oa. ade in the morning. At this critical period, a detach- 27. ment of riflemen from Williamsburgh, that had marched all night, arrived, and being joined by the minute-men and others, who had assembled the day before, took such a position as enabled them, with their small arms, to compel the enemy precipitately to quit their station, with the loss of some men and of a tender.

In consequence of this repulse, the governor issued a Nor. proclamation, declaring that martial law should take 7. place, and be executed through the colony; requiring all persons capable of bearing arms, to resort to his majesty's standard, or to be looked upon as traitors; and further declaring all indented servants, negroes or others (appertaining to rebels) free, who were able and willing to bear arms, upon joining his majesty's troops. The Virginians highly resented his lordship's declaring martial law; and by his single fiat, attempting to strip them of their property, and to arm their negroes and servants against them to effect their destruction. This measure occasioned to government the loss of many friends.

The proclamation with his lordship's presence and his marine, produced some effect in the town of Norfolk and the adjoining country, where many were well affected to the old government. He was accordingly joined by some hundreds of blacks and whites: but the pleasure it afforded was soon interrupted by intelligence, that a party of Virginians were marching toward them with
great

1775. great expedition. To obstruct their designs, and protect the well affected, he took possession of the Great-Bridge near Norfolk, a pass of much consequence, being the only way by which the town could be approached. He constructed a fort on the Norfolk side, and rendered it as defensible as time would admit. His force consisted of about 200 regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body of Norfolk volunteers: the rest was a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The Virginians, under colonel Woodford, fortified themselves within less than cannon shot of the royalists, having a narrow causeway in front, which was to be passed to come at their works.

In this state they continued quiet on both sides for some days. At length a servant belonging to major Marshall, being properly tutored, deserted to the royalists, and told them, that colonel Woodford had not more than 300 shirtmen (as they call the riflemen, on account of their being dressed in their hunting shirts) badly provided with ammunition. The bait took, and a design was formed for surprising the Virginians in their intrenchments. Capt. Leslie with the regulars, arrived at the bridge about three in the morning; and being joined by about 300 white and black slaves, laid planks upon the bridge, and crossed just after the Virginians had beaten the reveille, a lucky time for the last, as their men were of course all under arms. Capt. Fordyce, at the head of his grenadiers, amounting to about sixty, led the van, while lieutenant Batut commanded the advanced party. They passed the causeway, which admitted only of a few men's marching abreast, and approached the intrenchments with fixed bayonets,

bayonets, and a coolness and intrepidity which excited ¹⁷⁷⁵ astonishment. They were not only exposed naked to the fire in front, but enfiladed by another part of the provincial lines. The captain fell with several of his men, within a few yards of the breast work. The lieutenant with others were taken, and all the survivors of the grenadier company, whether prisoners or not, were wounded. The royalists were soon obliged to sound a retreat, having sixty-two men killed and wounded. The provincials, during the whole action, did not lose a single man, and had only one slightly wounded. The fire of the artillery from the fort covered the retreat of the royalists. None of the blacks, &c. in the rear, with capt. Leslie, advanced further than the bridge. Capt. Fordyce was buried with every military honor by the victors, who showed a due respect to his former merit, as well as to the gallantry which signalized his last moments. The British prisoners were treated with great kindness: the American royalists, who joined the king's standard, with rigor. The king's forces retired the ensuing night, without other loss than a few pieces of cannon. Capt. Leslie, it is said, has absolutely refused to act any more on shore, till he can be better supported; on the other hand, the Norfolk volunteers, and the black battalions, have declined acting without the regulars; this has induced his lordship to abandon the intrenchments at Norfolk, and to go on board the ships. Most of the wretched negroes, who had joined him, were now left to shift for themselves.

Colonel Woodford with the provincials, entered Nor- Dec.
folk; but almost all the inhabitants had fled on board ¹⁴
the ships. At night he resigned the command to colonel

1775, Howe, designing to return to his family, and attend on his private affairs.

Many of the Scotch petitioners having, contrary to their faith, solemnly plighted, become strict adherents to Lord Dunmore, and active promoters of his measures; and having excited their slaves to act against the colony; the convention has totally rescinded the former recommendation in their favor. But persons of ability, declining to act with the Virginians, and who have not taken up arms nor showed themselves against them, may be permitted to leave the country.

A scheme for raising a considerable force, for the service of Lord Dunmore, has been lately discovered in Maryland.

One John Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania, waited on his lordship with certain proposals, toward the latter end of July, which being approved of, he dispatched intelligence to the officers of the militia on the frontiers of Augusta county, with assurances from his lordship, that such of them as would hereafter evince their loyalty to his majesty, by putting themselves under his command, should be amply rewarded. He had before, by direction, prepared the Indians on the Ohio, to act in concert with him against his majesty's enemies in that quarter. His lordship sent him to general Gage at Boston about the fifteenth of September; and about the middle of October he returned with instructions from the general to his lordship. A commission of lieutenant colonel commandant of a regiment to be raised in the back parts and in Canada, was to be granted to this adventurer; who was to be assisted by the garrisons at Detroit, and Fort Gage at the Illinois, with artillery

and ammunition. He was to use means to urge the In-^{1775.} dian chiefs to act with vigor in the execution of his orders; and to have the supreme direction of the new forces. When they were in sufficient condition, he was to penetrate through Virginia, so as to meet Lord Dunmore at a set time in next April at Alexandria on the Patomak; his lordship was to bring such a naval strength and other assistance, as might be deemed necessary for the purpose. He had so far succeeded, that he was on his way, with two associates, to Detroit; where he was to meet his commission and instructions: but when they had reached about five miles beyond Hagar's-town, they were taken into custody and brought before the county committee at Frederick-town in Maryland, for exami-^{Nov.} nation, about ten days after parting with Lord Dun-^{23.} more. Their papers have betrayed every thing. Among them were the general plan of the whole business, and a letter from Lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, and other authentic vouchers, which leave nothing to be doubted. His lordship's letter was accommodated, as is usual in all such cases, to the Indian taste, and addressed to *Brother Captain White Eyes*, who was to acquaint the *Corn-Stalk*, as well as the chiefs of the Min-goës, and the other six nations, with the sentiments contained in it.

The capture of Connelly and his associates, is ascribed to the seizure of an express passing between an Indian commissary and the governor; from whose papers such intelligence was gained, as to put the provincial committee upon keeping a good look out for the parties. The Indian commissary was known to be disaffected to

1775. the American cause by a gentleman, whose suspicions made him a principal in effecting the discovery.

The *Pennsylvania* general assembly, in their November session, instructed their delegates to exert their endeavours at the continental congress, for the adoption of such measures as might afford the best prospect of obtaining a redress of American grievances, and of restoring the union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. They said, "Though the oppressive measures of the British parliament and administration have compelled us to resist their violence by force of arms, yet we strictly enjoin you, that you, in behalf of this colony, dissent from, and utterly reject, any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from the mother country, or a change in the form of this government." The reason for mentioning *a change in the form of this government*, was congress's recommendation of a measure of that kind to the provincial convention of New Hampshire, which will be properly noticed in its place.

Nov.
16.

Governor Franklin met the general assembly of *New Jersey*. In his speech he acquainted them, "That the commanders of his majesty's squadrons in America, have orders to proceed as in the case of a town in actual rebellion, against such of the sea-port towns and places, being accessible to the king's ships, as shall offer any violence to the king's officers, or in which any troops shall be raised, or military works erected, or other than by his majesty's authority, or any attempts made to seize or plunder any public magazine of arms or ammunition." He said, "Sentiments of independency, are by some men of present consequence, openly avow-

ed,

ed, and essays are already appearing in the public papers, to ridicule the people's fears of that horrid measure." The house of assembly, in their answer declared, "There is nothing we desire with greater anxiety than a reconciliation with our parent state, on constitutional principles. We know of no sentiments of independency that are by men of any consequence openly avowed; nor do we approve of any essays tending to encourage such a measure. We have already expressed our detestation of such opinions, and we have so frequently and fully declared our sentiments on this subject, that we should have thought ourselves, as at present we really deserve to be, exempt from all suspicion of this nature." The governor in his reply mentioned, that he had not the most distant thought, while speaking of the sentiments of independency openly avowed by some, that they would consider the remark as at all meant for, or applicable to their house. He concluded with pointedly saying, "I sincerely wish that both you and I may ere long have the happiness to see those, who either openly or privately avow sentiments of independency, *men of no consequence.*"

The *New York* convention having resolved upon the removal of the cannon from the battery in the city, captain Sears was appointed to the business. Captain Van-deput, of the *Asia* man of war, was privately informed of the design, and prepared to oppose its execution. Learning when it was to be attempted, he appointed a boat to watch the motions of the people assembled for that purpose about the dead of night. The sailors in the boat giving the signal, with a flash of powder, of what was going forward, the persons on shore mistook

1775. it for an attempt to fire a musket at them, and immediately aimed a volley of shot at the boat, by which a man was killed. Captain Vandeput soon after commenced a firing from the Asia with grape shot, swivel shot, 18 and 24 pounders, without killing a single person, and wounded only three, two slightly, the other lost the calf of his leg. He then ceased for a considerable time, supposing that the people had desisted from their purpose; while they were only changing their mode of operation. Captain Sears provided a deceiving party, intended to draw the Asia's fire from the line of the working party. He sent the former behind a breast work, by which they were secured on dodging down upon observing the flash of the Asia's guns. When all was in readiness, they huzzaed, and sang out their notes as though tugging in unison, and fired from the walls; while the working party silently got off twenty-one eighteen pounders, with carriages, empty cartridges, rammers, &c. Upon hearing the noise, and seeing the fire of the musketry, the captain ordered the Asia to fire a whole broad-side toward that part of the fort, where the deceiving party had secured themselves, without intending a particular injury to the city; however, Aug. 24. some of the shot could not but fly into it and do damage. This affair happened at a very late hour, between twelve and two; and threw the citizens into the utmost consternation. Such was the stillness of the night, that the report of the cannon was heard at Philadelphia, ninety miles off. The distress of the Yorkers was much increased, by a painful apprehension, that captain Vandeput would renew his firing upon the city. A removal of men, women, children and goods commenced, and

conti-

continued till Saturday. Matters were afterward so adjusted, as to quiet the apprehensions of the people, in reference to their suffering further from the Asia. To prevent it, the convention permitted Abraham Lott esq; to supply all his majesty's ships, stationed at New York, with all necessaries, as well fresh as salted, for the sole use of said ships. 1775.

The art and influence of governor Tryon alarmed the continental congress, some of the members especially, so that it was moved, that he should be seized. But Mr. Duane, one of the New York delegates, speaking in behalf of, and answering for him, no resolution to that purpose was taken. Mr. Duane saying, in his eagerness to defend the governor, that he was as good a friend to the American cause as any one present, called up captain John Langdon from New Hampshire, who resenting the assertion as an aspersion on the several members, answered with much acrimony, and was permitted to go on as long as he pleased, Mr. Duane's conduct not having answered, in several instances, the warm wishes of the zealous delegates. Though nothing was resolved upon against governor Tryon, the matter only subsided for the present, under an apprehension that if the motion was made, it would not be carried, or when carried would be conveyed to the governor time enough for him to secure himself. The affair was brought on again after a while in another form; and congress resolved, Oa.
 "That it be recommended to the several provincial as- 6.
 semblies or conventions, and councils or committees of safety, to arrest and secure every person in their respective colonies, whose going at large may in their opinion endanger the safety of the colony, or the liberties of
 I 4 America."

1775. America." An authentic copy of the resolve was to be transmitted by the delegates to proper persons in the different colonies. The fathers of it aimed at governor Tryon; they had little or no expectation that the New York convention would secure him; but they hoped that the sons of liberty at large would effect the business. It has been asserted, that Mr. Duane was uneasy at the resolution, and withdrew from congress for near an hour before he returned to his seat. Be that as it may, it is certain, that Mr. Duane's footman went off to governor Tryon in season to give him information of what was resolved; which occasioned his writing to the mayor of

Oct. 13. New York, acquainting him that he knew from *undoubted authority*, what was recommended to the provincial congress, and desiring to be informed whether he should be secure in the protection of the corporation and citizens. The provincial congress had not then received the recommendation. Several letters passed upon the occasion; but the governor not obtaining satisfaction as to his being secure, went on board the Halifax packet, of which he informed the mayor by letter; and in that

19. expressed his readiness to do such business of the country, as the situation of the times would permit.

A correspondent residing at New York complains, that the leaders of the people in that colony are inconsistent and perfidious, and that their councils are stamp'd with folly, timidity and treachery. Some days before the governor went on board, members of the provincial convention, declared even in convention, that they would not receive the bills of credit to be emitted by themselves; that they would join the king's standard,

if

if troops came, in order to save their estates, &c. These 1775.
speeches were uttered without meeting with any censure.

The day the governor sent his letter from on board, Messrs. Low, De Lancey, Walton, Kiffam, Verplank, &c. &c. labored hard in the provincial congress, to preclude the freemen of the city from voting for new members, and the mode of voting by ballot. They were for polling as formerly, and expected, that if the freemen were excluded, the freeholders would return none, but such as would be for preserving the city though at the expence of the liberties of America.

The New York troops are not to be depended upon in general. Persons who have been pretty hearty, are now afraid of falling a sacrifice. The defection becomes greater every day in both city and country. This may be owing to the arts of governor Tryon, whose exertions may be as strenuous and successful in the ship as in the city. He is not at a loss how to intrigue with the people of his government.

Such is the importance of securing the North River, that the continental congress have given direction for rendering it defensible, by erecting fortifications in the High-lands, and garrisoning the same. They have also those apprehensions of the New Yorkers, that they have directed Mr. Alexander, titular lord Stirling, to collect Nov. the troops raised in and for the defence of New Jersey, 27. (except six companies ordered to the forts on the North River) and to place them in barracks in the eastern division of the colony, as contiguous to New York as can be, there to remain till further orders. The city abounds with persons opposed to congressional measures. Their opposition was much strengthened by Mr. Livingston's

1775. vington's press, which was carried off four days before the above order. Captain Sears observing the mischievous effects of this press, determined upon a violent and effectual mode of silencing it. He procured seventy-five Connecticut horsemen, well armed with muskets, &c. unexpectedly entered the city at the head of them; repaired immediately to Mr. Rivington's, and seized all his types and other printing materials, many of which were destroyed. While he was thus employed, people collected, and the street was thronged. To prevent interruption, he called out and told them, that if they attempted to oppose him, he would order his men to fire upon them; and preparation was made for doing it, in case it should be needful. This appearance instantly cleared the street, when captain Sears and his party rode off in triumph, with the booty they were pleased to take away.

Sept. 30. Captain Wallace, in the Rose man of war, and two tenders, began in the morning to fire upon Stonington in Connecticut, close in with the Sound; and continued it the whole day, with very little intermission. They killed two men, much shattered the houses, stores, &c. and carried off a schooner loaded with molasses, and two small sloops. The firing was brought on by a vessel (which he was in chace of) escaping and securing itself in the harbour of the town. The men of war and transports at Newport, exciting a suspicion by their movements, that there was an intention of taking off live stock from the farms, in the south part of Rhode Island, a number of persons went down in the evening and brought off about 1000 sheep and 50 head of cattle. The next day and the following one the ships took off a
quan-

quantity from two farms, where it was thought they 1775.
 were collected for the purpose of supplying the British
 troops at Boston. Soon after 300 minute men arrived, 5.
 who marched to the spot, and brought off the remain-
 ing cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry, though fired upon
 by the ships which lay within gun shot. The interposi-
 tion of the minute men subjected the town to threats
 of being cannonaded by the men of war; so that many
 of the inhabitants moved their effects, while others left
 the place. On Saturday afternoon the ships weighed 7.
 anchor, went up the river to Bristol, and demanded three
 hundred sheep, which not being complied with, between
 eight and nine o'clock, they began a heavy fire on the
 town, and continued it upward of an hour. The wo-
 men and children, in great anxiety (dark and rainy as
 it was) were obliged to leave their habitations, and seek
 shelter in the adjacent country. Between nine and ten
 a committee went on board, and purchased the peace
 and safety of the town at the expence of forty sheep.
 The firing thus upon a defenceless town greatly irritated
 the minds of the Americans in distant colonies, and they
 have censured it in their public transactions.

The general assembly of *Rhode Island* passed an act Nov.
 for the capital punishment of persons who should be 11.
 found guilty of holding a traitorous correspondence with
 the ministry of Great Britain, or any of their officers
 or agents, or of supplying the ministerial army or navy
 employed against the united colonies, with provisions,
 arms, &c. or of acting as pilots on board any of their
 vessels. They however excepted, the negotiation and
 treaty of the town council with captain Wallace, respect-
 ing the supplying the ships of war stationed in the har-
 bour

1775. bour of Newport, and the regulation thereof by the commanding officer, which they had before permitted. They also passed an act for sequestering the estates of several persons, whom they considered as avowed enemies to the liberties of America.

Nov. 30. Capt. Wallace, about one in the morning, left the harbour of Newport, went to Conanicut with several vessels, and landed about 200 marines, sailors, and negroes, who were employed in burning the houses and barns upon the island. The men, while upon the service, were ordered to fire on one Mr. Martin, who gave no provocation, and was standing unarmed at his own door. He was shot in the belly and died. He was an inoffensive person, and had treated capt. Wallace with great civility and friendship.

General Lee was at length detached with a small corps from the army in the Massachusetts to the assistance of the Rhode Islanders; on whom, upon his arrival, he imposed a most tremendous oath. This act of the general's does not meet with the approbation of the congress.

The *Massachusetts* military and naval transactions will be related separate from the civil, as far as convenient.

The American prisoners taken on the 17th of June, were thrown indiscriminately into the jail at Boston, without any consideration being paid to those of rank, though languishing with wounds and sickness. The sick and wounded were put under the hands of a man, who had never before been employed, but in the diseases of horses*. The inhabitants of the town, who befriended the American cause, were not allowed to afford the pri-

* General Washington's private letter.

soners all that relief they were entitled to upon the principles of humanity. The sufferers had even some of their books of devotion taken from them, and were reproached for their much reading, as leading them into rebellion. Being accounted rebels, no cruelty was thought more than they deserved, while their existence was not terminated by a halter.

The education and reading of the colonists have undoubtedly contributed to encourage and support their opposition to measures, deemed destructive to the liberties of their country. Every town in the Massachusetts and Connecticut has a public English school for the education of youth, supported by an annual tax upon the inhabitants: to which any one may send his children, while the expence of their education is nothing more than his proportion of the tax. The masters are often young men, who have finished their college education; and who spend a year or more in this employ, till they take to a different one, which often leads to their becoming some of the first persons in the colony. The universal education promoted by these schools, spreads a general knowledge among the lowest orders of people; and gives them a taste for reading the interesting publications of the day; while able writers have been and are employing their pens, in nourishing the spirit of resistance, by arguments, historical narrations, and all the various arts of animated persuasion.

General Washington wrote to general Gage upon the subject of the ill treatment of the prisoners, and apprized him, that he should regulate his conduct toward those gentlemen who are or may be in his possession, exactly by the rule that the other should observe toward the

Aug. 17.
11.

1775. the Americans who may be in his custody. General
 Aug. 13. Gage in his answer asserted, that the prisoners had hitherto been treated with care and kindness, though indiscriminately, as he acknowledged no rank that was not derived from the king. He mentioned, " I understand there are of the king's faithful subjects, taken by the rebels, laboring like negro slaves, to gain their daily subsistence, or reduced to the wretched alternative, to perish by famine, or take arms against their king and country." He remarked upon the passage relating to retaliation, with an appeal to God; and closed with this charge, " unfortunately for both countries, those who long since projected the present crisis, and influence the councils of America, have views very distant from accommodation." General Gage was mistaken, in charging the party alluded to, with *projecting* the present crisis, which is the casual and unexpected consequence of pernicious ministerial councils. He was no less far from the truth, while he intimated that the American leaders " have views very distant from accommodation." Some few have such views; but the great body of them, at present, long for an accommodation.

19. General Washington replied to general Gage, in a pointed manner, and told him, " I have taken time, Sir, to make a strict inquiry, and find the intelligence you have received, has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with a tenderness due to fellow citizens and brethren, but even those execrable parricides, whose councils and aid have deluged their country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people. You affect, Sir, to despise all rank, not derived from the same

same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honorable than that, which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power. May that God to whom you appeal, judge between America and you! Under his providence, those who influence the councils of America, and all the other inhabitants of the united colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors."

At night, about two thousand of the American troops intrenched on Plow'd-hill, within point blank shot of the British on Bunker's-hill: notwithstanding a continual fire almost all the day following, they had only two killed and two wounded. While the intrenchments were carrying on, parties of riflemen were employed in firing upon the advanced guards on Charlestown neck. One of the British officers and several men, were seen to fall. Two of the British floating batteries attempting to annoy the Americans at work upon the hill, were silenced in Mystick river, and one partly sunk. More than 300 shells were thrown at the fortress on Plow'd-hill, without a single person's being thereby hurt; and the consequent contempt they entertained of shells, induced them to omit providing a bomb-proof cover for the garrison. Bunker's-hill, Plow'd-hill, and Winter-hill, which the Americans have possessed and fortified for some time, are situated in a range from east to west, each of them on or near Mystick river. Plow'd-hill is in the middle, and the lowest of the three, the summit is about half a mile from the works on Bunker's-hill.

The

1775. The British finding that their firing did not answer, relaxed, and after a while desisted entirely; and the Americans remained quiet in their new post. General Washington received, in the beginning of September, a very acceptable remittance of ammunition from Rhode Island, even 7000lb. of powder—a great quantity, compared with the late amazing scarcity. It is probably a part of what has been brought from Africa. The Americans practised a manœuvre, which credits their understanding. They sent out a quantity of New England rum, which was exchanged for a fiery commodity of a different quality, so, successfully as not to leave an ounce for sale in any of the British forts on the African coast.

The general having obtained pleasing accounts from Canada, being assured that neither Indians nor Canadians could be prevailed upon to act against the Americans, and knowing there was a design of penetrating into that province by Lake Champlain, concerted the plan of detaching a body of troops from head quarters, through the province of Main, across the country to Quebec. He communicated the same to gen. Schuyler, who approving it, all things were got in readiness. The corps was to be commanded by colonel Arnold, aided by colonels Christopher Green and Roger Enos, and majors Meigs and Bigelow; and was to consist of ten companies of musket men, and three companies of riflemen, amounting to eleven hundred.

Sept. In the evening the detachment marched from Cam-
 13. bridge for Newbury port, where, six days after, they
 embarked on board ten transports, bound to Kennebec,
 20. fifty leagues distant. They entered the mouth of the Ken-
 nebec

nebec in the morning, and being favored with wind and tide, proceeded up to Gardiner's town. It was only fourteen days from first giving the orders for building 200 batteaus, for collecting provisions, and for draughting the 1100 men, to their reaching this place.—Such was the dispatch !

The troops embarked on board the batteaus, and proceeded to Fort Western, on the east side of the river. From thence, capt. Morgan, with three companies of riflemen, was sent forward by water, with orders to get on to the great carrying place in the most expeditious manner, and to clear the road, while the other divisions came up. The second division embarked the next day, and the third the day after. As they advanced up the river, the stream grew very rapid, and the bottom and shores were rocky. By eleven o'clock in the morning, major Meigs with the third division, arrived at Fort Halifax, standing on a point of land between the rivers Kennebec and Sebasticook. In their progress up the river, they met with two carrying-places, over which they were obliged to carry their batteaus, baggage, and every other article, till they came again to a part of the river which was navigable, and no longer obstructed by water-falls, rapids, rocks or other encumbrances, as was that which they avoided. They got to Norridgewalk, where the major's curiosity was entertained, by the sight of a child 14 months old, the first white one born in the place. After crossing over more carrying places, he and his men encamped at the great carrying place, which was twelve miles and a half across, including three ponds that they were obliged to pass. These ponds had plenty of trout. Two days after colonel Enos arrived

1775. at the same place with the 4th division of the army, consisting of three companies of musket men. Colonel
- Oct. Arnold, meeting with an Indian, wrote to general
13. Schuyler, and enclosed his letter to a friend in Quebec. Though he had no knowledge of the Indian, he venturously intrusted the packet with him, to be carried and delivered according to order. This strange confidence may ruin his expedition, beside involving his friend in
15. great trouble. The provision was so reduced, that the men were put to allowance, $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of pork and $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of flour a day for each. The next day they reached Dead river. Colonel Enos having got up with his division, in about three days, was ordered to send back the sick, and those that could not be furnished with provision; but, contrary to colonel Arnold's expectation, returned to Cambridge with his whole division, a few days after. Major Meigs received orders to push on, with his division, for Chaudiere head, with the greatest expedition.
19. But they proceeded very slowly by reason of falls, carrying places and bad weather. Their course was only three
22. miles. The rains made the river rise, the preceding night, in some parts, eight feet perpendicular; and in many places it overflowed its banks, and rendered it very difficult for the men on shore to march. The next day the stream was so rapid, that, in passing it, five or six batteaus filled and overfet, by which they lost several barrels of provisions, a number of guns, clothes and other articles. Such was the rapidity of the stream, and the interruptions by carrying places, that it was with much fatigue they got on one and twenty miles within the three following days. To their great satisfaction they reached
27. the carrying place, which lies across the height of land

that runs through the colonies to Georgia, and on the 1775, further side of which the streams run the reverse of the rivers they had ascended. They crossed the heights to Chaudiere river, and continued their march by land to Quebec. The marching through the woods was extremely bad. Major Meigs passed a number of soldiers, who had no provisions, and some of whom were sick. It was not in his power to help or relieve them. But one or two dogs were killed, which the distressed soldiers eat with a relishing appetite, without sparing either feet or skin. A few eat their cartouch-boxes, breeches and shoes, being several days without provision. The major and his men marched on upon the banks of the Chaudiere, and at twelve o'clock met with supplies, to the inexpressible joy of the soldiers, who were near starving. Colonel Arnold, with a small party, made a forced march, and returned with provisions purchased of the inhabitants, on which the hunger-bitten adventurers made a voracious meal. The next day at eleven, major Meigs and his men arrived at a French house, and were hospitably treated. It was the first house he had seen for 31 days, having been all that time in a rough, barren, and uninhabited wilderness, where he never saw a human being except those belonging to the detachment. He and his party were immediately supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter, pheasants and vegetables, at this settlement called Sertigan, 25 leagues from Quebec. They were kindly entertained while marching down the country. When colonel Arnold got within two leagues and a half of Point Levi, he wrote to general Montgomery, that as he had received no answer either from general Schuyler or his friend, he made no doubt but that the

1775. Indian had betrayed his trust: and that he was confirmed in it upon finding that the inhabitants of Quebec had been sometime apprized of his coming, and had destroyed all the canoes at Point Levi to prevent the detachments passing over. The fact was, the Indian, instead of delivering the packet as directed, carried it to the lieutenant governor, who, on reading the letters, secured Mr. Mercier the merchant, and began immediately to put the city into the best state of defence he could; whereas before it was wholly defenceless, and might easily have been carried by surprise. Colonel
- Nov. 9. Arnold arrived at Point Levi, where we leave him to remove, if possible, the embarrassments into which his own imprudence has brought him by needlessly trusting an unknown Indian with dispatches of the utmost consequence. The detachment suffered hardships, beyond what can well be conceived of, in the course of the expedition. The men had to haul their batteaus up over falls, up rapid streams, over carrying places; and to march through morasses, thick woods, and over mountains, for about 320 miles. In many places they had to pass over the ground and the mountains several times, as without it they must have left much of their baggage behind, and have failed in the enterprise. They lost all their powder, except what was in cartridges and horns, while penetrating through the woods. But what proved the greatest trial to them, was the starving condition to which they were reduced, when approaching the end of their tedious and distressing march. The pork being gone, they had for four days, only half a pound of flour a day for each man. Their whole store was then divided, which yielded about four pints of flour

flour per man—a small allowance for men near a hundred miles from any habitation or prospect of a supply. 1775. It was used sparingly; but several when they had baked and eaten their last morsel, discovered to their great confusion, that they had thirty miles to travel before they could expect the least mouthful more. But their dread of consequences was soon removed, by the unexpected return of colonel Arnold with cattle. The soldiers exercised the greatest fortitude and patience under the difficulties and sufferings that occurred; and when again in the midst of plenty, and an easy situation, soon lost all painful remembrance of what had happened, and gloried in having accomplished, by their indefatigable zeal and industry, an undertaking above the common race of men in this debauched age. Let us attend to colonel Enos. His return to camp excited both astonishment and indignation. A court martial was ordered Dec. to sit upon him; when it appeared, that he had but 1. three days provision, and was about one hundred miles from the English settlements; that a council of war was called, which agreed upon the return of the colonel's whole division, and that he was for going on without it, but that it was opposed. It was the unanimous opinion of the court, that colonel Enos was under a necessity of returning; and he has been acquitted with honor. A number of officers of the best character are fully satisfied, and persuaded that his conduct deserves applause rather than censure. Had he not returned, his whole division must have been starved.

We must now resume the account of the military transactions in the Massachusetts, from the period of colonel Arnold's leaving the camp.

1775. The Americans, that they might equal in some measure the British, have built some floating batteries with a deck, to secure the people on board from suffering by musketry. General Washington perceiving that the expence of supporting the army will by far exceed any idea formed of it in congress, is alarmed at the apprehension of consequences, and most earnestly wishes for such a termination of the campaign, as may make the army no longer necessary. The want of powder has subsided in part. Salt-petre is made in every colony. Powder-mills have been erected at Philadelphia and New York. Not only so, but upward of a hundred barrels of powder have been taken out of the magazine at Bermuda, as supposed by a sloop from Philadelphia, and a schooner from Carolina. It was easily accomplished, from the magazine's being situated far distant from the town, without any dwelling house in the vicinity. Some of the inhabitants were probably concerned in the transaction. It might be connected with the address of the deputies from the different parishes of Bermuda presented to congress in July, and might influence the subsequent resolve of congress in November, "That the inhabitants of Bermuda appear friendly to the cause of America, and ought to be supplied with such a quantity of the produce of these colonies, as may be necessary for their subsistence and home consumption."

Oct. The perfidy of Dr. Church has been at length detected by the discovery of a traiterous correspondence with a British officer in Boston. He had intrusted a letter in cypher with his kept mistress, to be forwarded; which being found upon her, she was taken and carried

to

to head quarters. The doctor not being suspected, had an opportunity of speaking to her, so that she would not discover the writer, till terrified into it by the severest threats. The general was shocked at the discovery, and talked with the doctor upon the baseness of his conduct. The marks of guilt were apparent. The doctor was confounded, and never attempted to vindicate himself. He was immediately secured. Since the letter has been decyphered, and the doctor has had opportunity of recollecting himself, he has pleaded that his intentions were not criminal; admitting his plea, so gross a piece of stupidity in so sensible a man is quite a prodigy. But his plea was invalidated, though not by the contents of the letter, which served mainly to point out the necessity of a speedy accommodation; yet by the marks of guilt he discovered in the presence of the general, and in his attempt to conceal the writer, instead of declaring at once who he was, what was his design, and what he had written. The doctor being a representative was, on the 27th of October, examined at the bar of the house. He endeavoured to evade the censure of the house, by insisting, that as the affair would be before another court where the matter must have a final issue, should the house proceed to expel him, it would have a fatal effect whenever a final judgment was to be given on his conduct. He made the most solemn appeal to heaven, that the letter was written with the design of procuring some important intelligence. He observed, that there was not a single paragraph in it, which contained information that could hurt the Americans; and that the exaggerated accounts of their force, strength and unanimity, tended to dishearten the enemy,

1775. and keep them quiet, at a time when the Americans were poorly able to have withstood a vigorous attack. It is impossible to write all he said, but if the force of rhetoric and the powers of language; if the most pathetic arts of persuasion, enforced by all the ingenuity, sense, and spirit of the doctor, could have made him innocent, he would have appeared spotless as an angel of light. The house however expelled him as guilty; and congress afterward resolved, "That he be close confined in some secure jail in Connecticut, without the use of pen, ink and paper, and that no person be allowed to converse with him, except in the presence and hearing of a magistrate or the sheriff of the county."

The time for which the continental soldiers were engaged to serve, was hastening to a close; the evil of a very short enlistment was felt; it was therefore unanimously agreed at a council of war, that the men to be raised for the future army, should be engaged to the first of December 1776, but be discharged sooner if necessary. Hopes still remain, that an accommodation may possibly take place.

10. General Gage sailed for Great Britain, leaving several thousand inhabitants of the town in want of bread and every necessary of life. Before his departure, he was addressed by his majesty's mandamus council; by a number of gentlemen and principal inhabitants of the town; and by such as were driven from their habitations in the country to Boston, amounting to no more than seventy-six, a small number considering the extent and populousness of the colony, and that many of them would not pass for gentlemen in Great Britain. The command of the British army devolved of course upon
general

general Howe, who issued one proclamation, condemn- 1775.
ing to military execution such inhabitants as attempt to
quit the town without a written licence, if detected and
taken; if they escape, they are to be proceeded against
as traitors, and their effects are to be forfeited: and
another, declaring that if such as are permitted to de-
part, attempt carrying away more than five pound in
specie, to which sum they have been restrained for some
time past, they shall forfeit the whole sum discovered,
beside suffering fine and imprisonment.

Congress having intimated to general Washington,
that an attack upon Boston was much desired, a council
of war was called, but unanimously agreed that it was 18.
not expedient, at least, for the present. On the same
day captain Mowat destroyed 139 houses, and 278 stores
and other buildings, the far greatest and best part of
the town of Falmouth in the northern part of the Mas-
sachusetts. The inhabitants, in compliance with a re-
solve of the provincial congress to prevent tories carry-
ing out their effects, gave some violent obstruction to
the loading of a mast ship, which drew upon them the
indignation of the admiral. Captain Mowat was dis-
patched in the Canceaux of sixteen guns, with an armed
large ship, schooner and sloop. After anchoring toward
the evening of the seventeenth, within gun shot, he sent
a letter on shore, giving them two hours for the removal
of their families, as he had orders to fire the town, they
having been guilty of the most unpardonable rebellion.
A committee of three gentlemen went on board, to
learn the particular reasons for such orders. He an-
swered, that his orders were to set on fire all the sea-
ports between Boston and Halifax; but agreed to spare

1775. the town till nine o'clock the next morning, would they consent to send him off eight small arms; which was immediately done. The next morning the committee applied afresh; he concluded to spare the town till he could hear from the admiral, in case they would send him off four carriage guns, deliver up all their arms, ammunition, &c. and four gentlemen of the town as hostages. That not being complied with, about half past nine he began to fire from the four armed vessels, and continued it till after dark. With shells and carcasses, and about thirty marines whom he landed, he set the town on fire in several places. About a hundred of the worst houses escaped destruction, but suffered damage. The inhabitants got out a very considerable part of their furniture, and had not a person killed or wounded, though the vessels fired into the town about three thousand shot, beside bombs and carcasses. General Lee reprobates their cowardice, in admitting such a paltry party to land with impunity, and set their town in flames, when they had at least two hundred fighting men, and powder enough for a battle. In the private letter, wherein he expressed these sentiments, he made no mention of the sailors being repulsed with the loss of a few men; though this might happen in the close of the day, and give occasion for its being related by others. The burning of Falmouth spread an alarm upon the sea-coast, but produced no disposition to submit to the power and mercy of the armed British agents. The people in common chose rather to abandon the sea-ports that could not be defended, than quit their country's cause; and therefore removed back, with their effects, to a safe distance.

The congress, the latter end of September, concluded 1775. upon sending a committee of three members to confer with general Washington and the governor of Connecticut, the lieutenant governor of Rhode Island, the council of Massachusetts, and the president of the convention of New Hampshire and others, touching the most effectual method of continuing, supporting and regulating a continental army. They met and agreed on the measures to be pursued. Dr. Franklin being one of the committee, the Massachusetts general court embraced that opportunity of ordering the treasurer to pay Oct. him 1854l. sterling, in full for his late services as agent, 23. from October 31, 1770, to March 1, 1775. You may recollect that governor Hutchinson always refused signing the grants made him by the house of assembly. The doctor might have liked specie at the time such grants were made, better than the present paper money; but his foresight will undoubtedly transform the latter into some solid substance: he had to pay 100l. of it back into the hands of a committee, appointed to wait upon him within a day or two, being the amount of a sum sent by several persons from England, for the relief of those Americans who were wounded in the battle of Lexington, and of the widows and children of those who were then slain.

The old south meeting house, a large handsome brick 27. building, well fitted up without and within, was taken possession of and destined for a horse riding school, and the service of the light dragoons. It is said and believed, that an offer was made of building a complete riding school for less money than it would cost to remove the pews and the side galleries (the front remains for the

1775. the accommodation of tea-company and others) and to make a proper flooring for the horse. In clearing every thing away, a beautiful carved pew, with silk furniture, formerly belonging to a deceased gentleman in high estimation, was taken down and carried to Mr. John Amory's house, by the order of an officer, who applied the carved work to the erecting of a hogsty. Had the meeting house and its contents been honored with episcopal consecration, these proceedings would be deemed by multitudes profane and sacrilegious. But they, who in the present day hold not with the holiness of any buildings, will censure the insults offered professors of whatever denomination, by needlessly demolishing their places of worship, or consigning them to despicable and filthy uses. When Roman virtue and patriotism were at their height, the Roman officers would not allow the religion or temples of the persons with whom they fought to be insulted and profaned. They were more politic, than to exasperate men into a ferocious courage for the defence of their altars. But too many of the present British officers act as though they owed a spite to all the meeting houses of the Presbyterians, by which common name they stigmatize those who dissent from the church of England, without reflecting that it is no stigma in Scotland, but the reverse.

The southern colonies, in consequence of accounts transmitted to them from the camp, begin to entertain prejudices with respect to the troops raised in the Massachusetts. They ought to allow for the precipitation with which the army was necessarily collected. General Oa. Thomas declared, that the regiments at Roxbury were
 24. equal, as to the privates, to any with whom he served
 the

the last war, and many of them have proved themselves 1775.
brave. The greatest part of the officers are unexperienced, and in general unqualified, being strangers to subordination, which was not unexpected to the general, as they were chosen by their privates. He complained of many of the southern riflemen, that they often deserted to the enemy, were mutinous, repugnant to all kind of duty, and so exceedingly vicious, that the army would be as well without them; but spake with satisfaction of their officers. It is a mortifying truth, that some of the Massachusetts officers disgrace the colony, by practising the meanest arts of peculation. Every subtilty that avarice can invent or rascality carry on, are used to cheat the public by men who procured commissions, not to fight for the liberty of their country, but to prey upon its distresses. The army about to be enlisted will undoubtedly be better officered.

Gentlemen, ladies and others, from neighbouring and distant colonies, attracted by curiosity, have visited the American troops, and animated them by their presence. A number of Indian chiefs have also been down, that they might see and judge for themselves, how far the reports propagated among them were true or false. They were treated at head quarters, and by different officers, with much respect. One evening they entertained the generals and others with a war dance, if that may be called an entertainment, wherein the motions and actions of the dancers were calculated to alarm and terrify those who were not acquainted with such sights. They were pleasant and agreeable company. Two of them had their squaws or wives with them: who were well looking women, allowing for their very dark complexion:
one

1775. one of them was much dejected, having lately lost her papoos or child. When the Indians danced in company with the American gentlemen and ladies, both men and women kept time with far greater exactness than the others. They went off upon their return, fully satisfied with the treatment they had received ; and it is hoped will carry back those accounts which will keep their tribes peaceable.

Many of the Americans have sickened and died of the dysentery, brought upon them, in a great measure, through an inattention to cleanliness. When at home, their female relations put them upon washing their hands and faces, and keeping themselves neat and clean : but being absent from such monitors, through an indolent heedless turn of mind, they have neglected the means of health, have grown filthy, and poisoned their constitutions by nastiness.

Nov. 2. The weather set in very cold, and the soldiers were distressed for want of wood. The building of barracks had been delayed too long ; and they were not in sufficient forwardness to admit and accommodate all the troops. Several regiments were obliged to keep the field ; and some in a bleak position upon the brow of hills, where it was difficult to drag up the wood with which they could be supplied. It is mortifying to reflect how these supplies have been reduced by short measure. But many persons think it no harm in this way to cheat the United Colonies, and to deliver a less quantity than they are paid for.

9. Several companies of the British regulars passed over from Charlestown to Phipps's farm, and kept possession of the ground for near an hour before they could be obstructed,

obstructed, owing to a high tide, that prevented the 1775.
 Americans crossing the causeway, which was overflowed. During this period they were employed in shooting cattle with the design of carrying them off. At length a battalion of riflemen, under colonel Thomson, took to the water, when up to their middles, and a quarter of a mile across; at their approach the British hastened to their boats. The Charlestown forts, one in Boston and a frigate, kept up a warm fire upon the Americans the whole time, killed them one man and wounded three. The British have provided for the security of Charlestown, by the erection of a strong citadel on Bunker's-hill, with convenient barracks for the garrison. Such was the distress of the inhabitants in Boston, that 16.
 fences, trees, houses, &c. were taken down and carried off for fuel: beef, mutton and pork, were 1 s. 1½ d. sterling per lb. geese half a guinea a piece, and fowls five shillings. At the scarcest season half a guinea was given for a dozen of common eggs.

General Washington, desirous of improving the troops to the utmost, ere the army was weakened by the return of the Connecticut ones to their own colony, resolved upon securing Cobble, or Miller's-hill, about half a mile in a direct line from the enemy's works on Bunker's-hill, and at a like distance from the shipping at West Boston. About 1000 men broke ground on the 22.
 hill, without having a single cannon fired at them. They went on intrenching and planting several 9, 18, and 24 pounders, till they made themselves secure. General Howe does not appear so fond of cannonading as was general Gage. To lessen the demand for provision, he 24.
 ordered a transport ship to carry about 400 of the inhabitants

1775. bitants out of the town to Point Shirley, to be taken care of by the country. Ten days after he sent out 300 more. The persons thus sent out were not thought to be wholly free from the small-pox; and it was suspected that there might be a design of spreading that disorder among the American troops, which induced the Massachusetts assembly to resolve upon measures for preventing such an event.

The Massachusetts assembly resolved, October the ninth, to fit out armed vessels; which proving a sufficient encouragement for individuals to apply themselves to that business, and some being in proper forwardness, an act was passed in November for granting letters of marque and reprisal, and the establishment of courts of admiralty. The declared intention of the act was for the defence of the American coast, and the condemnation of those vessels only which should be proved to be the property of, or in any wise employed, by the enemies of the united American colonies, or for supplying said enemies. The Lee privateer, captain Manly, belonging to Marblehead, was soon at sea, and took the brig Nov. 29. Nancy, an ordnance ship from Woolwich, containing beside a large brass mortar upon a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils and machines, necessary for camps and artillery, in the greatest abundance. General Washington, but thirteen days before wrote, "I am in very great want of powder, lead, mortars, indeed of most sorts of military stores." Had congress sent an order for articles most wanted, they could not have made a more satisfactory invoice. The mortar is now at Cambridge, in the

the park of artillery; is named *the Congress*, and is 1775.
much admired for its size by every spectator, whether
acquainted or not with the uses for which it is designed.
About two months before this capture, a ship from Bris-
tol with flour for Boston, having parted with her con-
voy, was decoyed into Portsmouth in New Hampshire,
and secured for the benefit of the Americans.

Three ships from London, Glasgow and Liverpool, Dec.
with various stores for the army, and a brig from An- 8.
tigua with rum, were taken in the bay by captain Manly,
by whale boats, &c. A number of men in whale boats
can overpower unarmed vessels, and carry them off into
secure harbours. These and the privateers captured
several more store ships before five days were ended.
Among the privateers were some continental ones, for
general Washington fitted out a few armed vessels, which
has met with the approbation of congress. These re-
peated and considerable captures have increased the dis-
tress of the troops and people in Boston, and furnished
the continental army with many valuable articles. But
though the success of the Americans upon the watery
element has been matter of joy and triumph, their af-
fairs upon land do not answer the wishes of the genuine
patriots. On the first of the month the enlistment of
the Connecticut troops expired. They were urged to
stay longer by different persons, who harangued them
upon the occasion. A few hundreds were prevailed
upon to continue; but the main body marched off,
leaving the army in too weak a condition. It is true,
they had suffered greatly through the intenseness of the
cold, and the want of fuel, with which they ought to
have been more faithfully and punctually supplied. The
Massachusetts and New Hampshire men complete
VOL. II. L their

1775. their term, the first of January; and the enlistment of the new army goes on very heavily. There is a general reluctance among the soldiers to enlisting afresh. The Massachusetts people show as much backwardness as the others. In short, they expect to be hired, and that at a very high price, to defend their own liberties; and choose to be slaves unless they can be bribed to be free-men. *Quid facit libertas, cum sola pecunia regnat?* How must it afflict general Washington to observe in the present crisis, so little of that patriotic spirit, which he was taught to believe was the characteristic of the Massachusetts people; and on which he relied greatly for support. While burdened with an apprehension that he might possibly be deserted, he could recollect the severity of the season, and the distresses of his fellow creatures at a distance, and wrote to the gentleman with whom he had intrusted the management of his concerns at Mount Vernon, "Let the hospitality of the house be kept up with respect to the poor. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness. I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, when you think it will be well bestowed. I mean, it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself or wife are now in the way to do these good offices."

Dec. 11. About 2000 militia arrived in camp, and 3000 more were expected every hour, making in the whole, the number required by the general to supply the deficiency of the continental regiments. The American army being by this mean sufficiently strengthened, carried their approaches to within half a mile of Boston, and broke ground at Lechmere's point, which brought on a can-

nonade

monade from the batteries of Charlestown and Barton's 1775.
point, that continued for four days, without obliging
them to desist. Their labor was hard, owing to the
ground's being so frozen; but they persevered till they
had perfected their design.

Some persons have been so curious as to note the 25.
number of men killed by the firings of the enemy on
the Cambridge side of the American lines, and on the
Roxbury, as also the number and nature of their firings.
The account stands thus.—“ From the burning of
Charlestown down to this day, the enemy have fired up-
ward of 2000 shot and shells, an equal number of 24
pounders with any other fort. They threw more than
300 bombs at Plowed-hill, and 100 at Lechmere's point.
By the whole firing on Cambridge side, they killed only
seven, and on Roxbury side five, just a dozen.”

Let me now give you the following anecdote. Dea-
con Whitcomb of Lancaster, (who was a member of
the Massachusetts assembly till the present contest, had
served in former wars, and been in different engage-
ments) has served as a colonel in the American army;
but on account of his age was left out upon the late
new regulation. His men highly resented it, and de-
clared they would not enlist again, after their time was
out. The colonel told them, he did not doubt there
were sufficient reasons for the regulation, and he was sa-
tisfied with it; he then blamed them for their conduct,
and said he would enlist as a private. A colonel Brewer
heard of it, and offered to resign in favor of colonel
Whitcomb. The whole coming to general Washing-
ton's ears, he has allowed of colonel Brewer's resigna-
tion in colonel Whitcomb's favor, appointed the for-
mer barrack-master, till he can further promote him,

1775. and acquainted the army with the whole affair in general orders. This terminates the narrative of the military and naval transactions within the Massachusetts; little remains to be mentioned of the civil. The great

Oct. call there was for salt-petre, put the house of assembly
31. upon resolving, to pay a bounty of three shillings sterling in paper currency per lb. for all that shall be manufactured before the first of next June, beside two shillings and three-pence per lb. purchase money. The assembly was far from giving satisfaction to general Lee,

Nov. who about the middle of November, pronounced them
19. benumbed in a fixed state of torpitude, without the symptoms of animation, unless an apprehension of rendering themselves unpopular among their particular constituents, by any act of vigor for the public service, deserved the name of animation. He charged them with inconsistent and timid conduct, and ascribed it to their torpor, narrow politics, or call it what you will, that the army had been reduced to very great distress. There was however, about the beginning of December, an act passed for emitting bills of credit to the amount of more than 50,000l. sterling, with a pretty device on the back, viz. an American with a sword in his right hand, with the following inscription suspended therefrom, "*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*;" and from his left hand "*Magna Charta*;" and round the figure these words, "*Issued in defence of American liberty*."

Dec. The assembly also gave orders relating to wood, that so
16. the great distress of the army on that head might be removed.

New Hampshire colony has presented us with a novelty; which the politicians will apply to the purpose of promoting independency. By some dexterous, or rather

ther sinister management, instructions were delivered to¹⁷⁷⁵ the New Hampshire delegates at the continental congress containing these expressions, "We would have you immediately use your utmost endeavours to obtain the advice and direction of the congress, with respect to a method for our administering justice, and regulating our civil police. We press you not to delay this matter, as its being done speedily will probably prevent the greatest confusion among us." They were laid before congress October the eighteenth, and proved a fine opening for those individual delegates, who were looking forward to a separation from Great Britain, to introduce an entering wedge wherewith to divide the empire. Even these very instructions might be designedly obtained by confidential letters written to trusty deputies in the New Hampshire convention, by certain delegates in the general congress. The first step to be taken by such was, to procure, in some one colony, the establishment of a new form of government, in which the people at large should have a leading influence, that so their attachments and efforts might be secured in support of the same. The inhabitants of adjoining colonies would soon be eager to enjoy the like power and importance, which would pave the way for their insisting also upon a change. These changes being once effected, the parties will then have gone too far to retreat, and must seek their security in independence. The scheme met with opposition, and the New Hampshire delegates used unwearied importunity, both within doors and without, before they obtained the recommendation they were after. At length the report of the committee was taken into consideration, and it was resolved

1775. by congress, " That it be recommended to the provin-
 Nov. cial convention of New Hampshire, to call a full and
 3. free representation of the people, and that the said re-
 presentatives, if they think it necessary, establish such
 a form of government, as in their judgment will best
 produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually
 secure peace and good order in the province, during
 the continuance of the present dispute between Great
 Britain and the colonies." The vote was far from
 being unanimous; and, in order to make it pass, was
 qualified with a seeming desire of an accommodation
 with Britain, and of a restoration by that mean to the
 old form of government. The provincial convention,
 without waiting for the arrival of the recommendation,
 appointed a committee to report a mode of representa-
 14. tion; which being laid before them, they agreed that
 precepts be sent to elect persons to represent the towns
 &c. in congress, to meet at Exeter on the twenty-first
 of December, and to be empowered to prosecute such
 measures as they may deem necessary for the public good,
 during the term of one year, unless they see fit to dis-
 solve themselves sooner. And in case there should be
 a recommendation from the continental congress for
 this colony to assume a government, in a way that will
 require a house of representatives, that the said congress
 of this colony be empowered to resolve themselves into
 such a house as may be recommended, and remain such
 for the aforesaid term of one year." The provincial
 congress met agreeable to the precepts, and after a while
 voted, " That congress will at any time take up civil
 government, to continue during the present contest with
 Great Britain; and resolve themselves into a house of
 repre-

representatives, and then choose a council to continue ¹⁷⁷⁵ one year from the twenty-first of December."

The continental congress having dispatched the New Hampshire case, immediately took into consideration the state of *South Carolina*, and appointed a committee to consider a number of papers relative thereto, and to report what in their opinion was necessary to be done. What this opinion would be was easily foreseen from Messrs. Chase and Samuel Adams being of the committee. The report was brought in the next day, and ^{Nov.} it was resolved, "That for the defence of South Caro- ⁴ lina, there be kept up in that colony, at the continental expence, three battalions of foot:—That if the convention, or council of safety shall think it expedient, for the security of that colony, to seize or destroy any ship or vessel of war, this congress will approve of such proceeding:—That Charlestown ought to be defended against any attempts to take possession thereof by the enemies of America; and that the convention or council of safety ought to proceed immediately to erect such fortifications and batteries, as will best conduce to its security:—That if the convention of South Carolina shall find it necessary to establish a form of government in that colony, it be recommended to that convention to call a full and free representation of the people, &c. &c." as to the convention of New Hampshire.

The measures pursued by lord Dunmore naturally led congress to resolve, "That a committee be appointed ¹⁰ to inquire into the state of the colony of *Virginia*, to consider what provisions may be necessary for its defence, and to report the same." Mr. Samuel Adams was of the number. New information being received

1775. before they reported, when they did it, it was in such a
 Dec. way that congress resolved “ That three companies
 4. of the Pennsylvania battalion immediately march into Northampton county in Virginia, for the protection of the association :—That it be recommended to the inhabitants to resist to the utmost the arbitrary government intended to be established therein.” They then said, “ Whereas lord Dunmore by his proclamation, has declared his intention to execute martial law, thereby tearing up the foundations of civil authority and government within the colony; resolved, therefore, that if the convention of Virginia, &c. &c.” as, to the conventions of New Hampshire and South Carolina.

A growing change in the sentiments of congress would of course follow, upon the dispatches received the day before the committee on the state of Virginia was appointed. Their agents informed them, that the American minister told them, some days after the delivery of the petition by the late governor Penn, *No answer will be given to it*; and that no one person in authority had, since the arrival of that gentleman, deigned to propose a single question to him, or to desire the smallest information from him. This cavalier treatment, of a petition containing professions of the greatest loyalty to the king and attachment to the mother country, and couched in terms the most moderate and humble; and of the person who was intrusted with it; left no reasonable ground for hoping that the present dispute could be amicably adjusted.

Having been led, by the New-Hampshire instructions, to mention some of the doings of congress, let me proceed to relate some others which have been unnoticed.

Congress

Congress resolved that the new army intended to lie before Boston, consist of 20,372 men, officers included. Beside, it has been recommended to particular colonies to raise battalions at the expence of the continent. Orders have also been given for fitting out four armed vessels, for the intercepting of such transports as may be laden with warlike stores and other supplies for the enemy; and for the protection and defence of the United Colonies. It was agreed, "That every member consider himself under the ties of virtue, honor and love of his country, not to divulge, directly or indirectly, any matter or thing agitated or debated in congress before the same shall have been determined, without the leave of congress; or any matter or thing determined in congress, which the majority of congress shall order to be kept secret; and that, if any member shall violate this agreement, he shall be expelled this congress, and be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America, and liable to be treated as such; and that every member signify his consent to this agreement by signing the same." They resolved upon raising two battalions of marines, to be considered as part of the number of which the continental army before Boston is to consist.

1775.
Nov.
4.

94

10.

28.

A committee appointed to take into consideration the state of *North-Carolina*, made their report, whereupon it was resolved, among other matters, that two ministers of the gospel be applied to, to go immediately among the regulators and highlanders of that colony, for the purpose of informing them of the nature of the present dispute between Great Britain and the colonies. Instead of a similar recommendation to what was given to South Carolina about establishing a form of government, it was

only

1775. only recommended to the convention or committee of safety, in case the method of defending the colony by minutemen be inadequate to the purpose, to substitute such other mode as to them should appear most likely to effect the security of the colony.

Nov. 29. Congress resolved, that a committee of five be appointed for the sole purpose of corresponding with their friends in Great Britain, Ireland and other parts of the world. Information being given, that there is a large quantity of powder in the island of Providence, the secret committee were ordered to take measures for securing and bringing away the said powder. To prevent any petition to the king from a particular colony, they declared, that in the present situation of affairs, it would be very dangerous to the liberties and welfare of America, if any colony should separately petition the king, or either house of parliament. This declaration is thought to be owing to an apprehension, that the New Jersey assembly would be drawn in, by the art and persuasion of governor Franklin and his adherents, to adopt such a measure. Congress were certainly alarmed at some disagreeable appearances, for they appointed a committee to confer with that assembly, immediately after the declaration. They agreed to the report of the committee on proclamations. It contained many severe remarks upon the royal proclamation of August, for suppressing rebellion and sedition; together with many pointed questions designed to sink it into equal contempt with what it experienced at the Royal Exchange, where we have heard it was read by one of the lord mayor's officers, accompanied only by the common crier, without horse or mace to grace the ceremony, and when finished,

saluted

saluted with a general hiss. Toward the close, the re-¹⁷⁷⁵port holds forth the following threat; "We, in the name of the people of these United Colonies, and by authority, according to the purest maxims of representation, derived from them, declare, that whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of our enemies for favoring, aiding, or abetting the cause of American liberty, shall be retaliated in the same kind and the same degree upon those in our power, who have favored, aided, or abetted, or shall favor, aid, or abet the system of ministerial oppression."

Congress determined upon building five ships of 32 Dec. guns, five of 28, and three of 24, in all thirteen; one 13. in New-Hampshire, two in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island, two in New-York, four in Pennsylvania, and one in Maryland. They, having 20. taken into consideration the dispute between the people of Pennsylvania and Connecticut on the lands near Wyoming, on the Susquehanna river, recommended that "the contending parties immediately cease all hostilities; that all persons seized and detained on account of said dispute, on either side, be dismissed and permitted to go to their respective homes; and that, things being put in the same situation they were before the late unhappy contest, they continue to behave themselves peaceably, until a legal decision can be had on said dispute, or congress shall take further order thereon." The committee appointed to fit out armed vessels, having procured a few, laid before congress a list of the officers by 22. them appointed; and were directed to give such instructions to the commander of the fleet, Ezekiel Hopkins esq; touching the operations of the ships under his command,

1775. mand, as should appear to them most conducive to the defence of the United Colonies, and to the distress of the enemy's naval forces and vessels.

In Canada, Sir Guy Carleton was no sooner acquainted with the Americans having surpris'd Tyconderoga and Crown-point, and obtained the command of Lake Champlain, than he planned a scheme for their recovery. The British troops he had with him were too few to admit of their being drawn out of garrison. He expected a supply of Canadians sufficient for his purpose; and to have the assistance of the Indians in his intended operations: but both failed him. He established martial law in the province, that he might be able in that way authoritatively to force the people to take arms; but they refused. They had tasted the sweets of the English mode of government, since the conquest of the country; and were disgusted (the noblesse excepted) at the re-establishment of the French. The Quebec act was of no use in exciting them against the colonists; on the contrary they talked much of liberty*. They declared themselves ready to defend the province; but absolutely refused to march out of it, and commence hostilities upon their neighbours. The governor applied to the bishop of Quebec, to use his spiritual influence, and particularly to issue an episcopal mandate to be read by the parish priests in the time of divine service, but the bishop excused himself. The ecclesiastics, in the place of this, issued their letters, which were however, greatly disregarded. The noblesse alone, who were chiefly considered in the Quebec-act, showed a zeal against the English colonists.

* Mr. Thomas Gamble's letter to general Gage.

Colonel Johnson, a son of the late Sir William John-¹⁷⁷⁵son, had repeated conferences with the Indians; at the one in Montreal, he delivered to each of the Canadian tribes a war belt and the hatchet; after which he invited them to feast on a Bostonian and to drink his blood, figuratively, an ox being roasted for the purpose, and a pipe of wine given: but the entertainment could not prevail with them to take up the hatchet. The congress, being made acquainted with the disposition of the Canadians, and the designs of governor Carleton, and expecting a powerful opposition from that quarter, when European troops were arrived, unless they could prevent it by securing the country, determined upon penetrating into Canada, in hope of gaining the speedy possession of it, and of joining it to the union. The more effectually to support the reasonableness of the measure, and to strengthen the operation, it was given out, that the powers, with which governor Carleton was intrusted by his commission, were special and extraordinary, *purposely* designed to warrant his attempting by force to suppress the opposition making in the colonies to the British measures. Several or even most of the members of congress could not but know, that the words of the commission were the same as were used in the commissions for governing their own colonies, name and place excepted. Sir Guy's commission was in the usual mode, and similar to what was given to Danvers Osborne esq; governor of New York*.

General Montgomery was sent forward to Tyconderoga with a body of troops, New-Yorkers and New-Englanders. When he took leave of his lady, his part-

* See the copy in Mr. Smith's History of New York.

1775. ing words were, " You shall never blush for your Mont-
 Aug. gomery." He arrived with the continental army (if not
 21. too diminutive to be so called) at the place of destination. General Schuyler, who was the chief commander, remained at Albany to attend the Indian treaty carrying on in that city. General Montgomery made a movement down Lake Champlain, without waiting the arrival of more troops ; that so he might hinder the enemy's armed vessels getting into the lake. Schuyler having
 Sept. pushed forward, notwithstanding great indisposition, and
 4. joined Montgomery at Isle la Motte, they moved on and
 5. arrived at Isle aux Noix. Here he drew up a declaration, which he sent among the Canadians by colonel Allen and major Brown, assuring them, that the army was designed only against the English garrisons, and not the country, their liberties or religion. The army, not
 6. exceeding a thousand men, proceeded without any obstruction toward St. John's. When in sight of the works, and about two miles distant, the enemy began to fire, without doing any damage. After advancing half a mile nearer, the troops landed without opposition, in a close deep swamp ; and being formed, marched through grounds marshy and covered with woods, in order to reconnoitre the fortresses. The left was attacked in crossing a creek, by a party of Indians, who killed a sergeant, corporal, and three privates, beside wounding eight, three of whom died. Three officers also were wounded. The Indians were soon compelled to give way, and had five killed and four badly wounded. Gen. Schuyler receiving certain intelligence in the evening, that the enemy's fortifications were complete, and plentifully furnished with cannon, it was thought advisable
 the

the next morning, to return to *Isle aux Noix*, which 1775.
 was accordingly done; and the troops were employed in
 erecting proper works to secure the entrance into the
 lake; and in getting ready, on the arrival of further re-
 inforcements, to take advantage of any events that
 might happen in Canada. Schuyler returned, leaving
 the command to Montgomery; who, being strengthened
 by an addition of men and artillery, and receiving orders
 to undertake the siege of *St. John's*, proceeded to exe- 17.
 cute the same. The next day the enemy threw bombs,
 but did no damage. The Americans returned the salute.
 The lines of circumvallation were finished; but between 21.
 20 and 30 waggons with provisions, rum, brandy, &c.
 for the garrison, were taken prior to it. Afterward there
 was a continual firing for some days and nights; and
 could the general have depended upon the troops, he
 might have ventured to promise success, but he could
 say nothing pleasing on that head. The men took good
 care of themselves; and one night capt. Mott, of the
 1st regiment of Yorkers, basely deserted the mortar
 battery without ever being attacked.

Colonel Allen being upon his return, with a guard
 of about eighty men, from a tour upon which he had
 been sent by the general, was desired to halt by major
 Brown, who proposed that colonel Allen should return
 to *Longueil*, procure canoes and cross the river *St.*
Lawrence a little north of *Montreal*; while he crossed
 a little to the south of the town with near 200 men, as
 he had boats sufficient. The plan was approved of, and
 colonel Allen crossed in the night. Major Brown by
 some means failed on his part; and colonel Allen found
 himself, the next morning, in a critical situation; but
 concluded

1775. concluded upon maintaining his ground. General Carleton
 Sept. 25. ton learning how weak colonel Allen was, marched out
 against him with about forty regulars, together with Canadians, English and Indians, amounting to some hundreds. The colonel defended himself with much bravery; but being deserted by several, chiefly Canadians, and having had fifteen of his men killed, was under the necessity of surrendering with thirty-one effectives and seven wounded. He was directly put into irons. Had the plan been executed according to major Brown's proposal, Montreal would probably have been surprised and taken. Success would have prevented the censures, which are now passed upon the one for proposing, and the other for adopting a plan of operation to which the
 Oa. general was an entire stranger. A party of Canadians,
 4. who had joined and greatly assisted the besiegers, intrenched themselves on the east side of the lake, on which the enemy sent an armed sloop with troops to drive them away; but the Canadians attacked the sloop with vigor, killed a number of the men, and obliged her to return to St. John's in a shattered condition. The
 7. main body of the army decamped from the south, and marched to the north side of the fort; and in the evening began to throw up a breast work, in order to erect a battery of cannon and mortars. The continental troops brought such a spirit of liberty into the field, and thought so freely for themselves, that they would not bear either subordination or discipline. The general could not in truth direct their operations, and would not have stayed an hour at their head, had he not feared that the example would be too generally followed, and so the public service suffer. There was a great want of
 powder,

powder, which with the disorderly behaviour of the troops was a damp to the hope of terminating the siege successfully. 1775.

The prospect was much brightened. The Canadians planned an attack upon Chamblee, and carried down in batteaus the artillery, past the fort of St. John's. After a short demur it surrendered to major Brown and major Livingston. The greatest acquisition was about six tons of powder, which enabled the general to accomplish his wishes. The other particulars you have below *, except the colours of the 7th regiment, which were immediately transmitted to congress—the first present of the kind they ever received. The garrison became prisoners of war, but were allowed all their baggage, the quantity of which was astonishing. Their women and children, whose number was equally astonishing, were permitted to go with them, and to take their effects. The besiegers having obtained a full supply of ammunition, went to work in earnest, completed a battery within 250 yards of the fort, and mounted in it four guns and six mortars, in defiance of the continual fire of the enemy. While the army was busily engaged in preparing for a cannonade, and an assault if necessary, they received the agreeable news of governor Carleton's being repulsed. The governor, with a view of raising 18.

* Eighty barrels of flour, 11 ditto rice, 7 ditto pease, 6 firkins of butter, 134 barrels of pork, 7 ditto damaged, 124 barrels of gunpowder, 390 swivel shot, 1 box of musket shot, 6564 musket cartridges, 150 stand of French arms, 3 royal mortars, 61 shells, 500 hand grenades, Royal Fusileers muskets 83, accoutrements 83, rigging for three vessels at least, 1 major, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, the captain of the schooner which is sunk, a commissary and surgeon, soldiers 83. 30.

1775. the siege, collected a body of about 800 forces, consisting of the militia of Montreal, a number of Canadians, whom he had maintained for some time, a few troops, not a hundred, and some Indians. They left Montreal in high spirits, and attempted to cross the river St. Lawrence, and land at Longueil; but colonel Warner, with 300 Green Mountain boys, and a four pounder which kept pouring grape shot into the boats, prevented their making good a landing. They were suffered to come very near the shore, and then the fire was so hot and destructive, that they were thrown into great confusion, and retired with the utmost precipita-

Nov. tion. The batteries kept an incessant fire all day on the
1. garrison of St. John, which returned a very brisk one. In the evening, general Montgomery sent a flag, with a letter to major Preston the commander, by one of the prisoners taken by colonel Warner, informing him of governor Carleton's defeat, and recommending to him the surrender of the fort, as he could now have no longer reason to expect relief from that quarter. Major Preston in return sent an officer to the camp, proposing to answer the letter fully in the morning, and that in the mean time hostilities should cease on both sides. Two
2. officers came into camp with an answer from major Preston, who requested the general to wait four days, to see whether no relief would come in that time, and if not, they would make proposals for a surrender. The advanced season of the year, did not allow of the general's complying. He required them to surrender immediately prisoners of war; but referred them for the truth of the governor's defeat to another prisoner. It was at length agreed that the garrison should march out with

the honors of war, as what was due to their fortitude and perseverance. The non-commissioned officers and privates were to ground their arms on the plain; the officers were to keep their side arms, and their fire arms were to be reserved for them. The effects of the garrison were not to be withheld from them. The Canadian gentlemen and others at St. John's were considered as part of the garrison; which amounted to about 500 regulars, and better than 100 Canadian volunteers. The next morning they marched out, and the continental troops took possession of the fort; in which were 17 brass ordnance from 2 to 24 pounders, 2 eight inch howitzers, 7 mortars, and 22 iron ordnance from 3 to 9 pounders, a considerable quantity of shot and small shells, and about 800 stand of small arms, beside a small quantity of naval stores. The ammunition and provision was trifling, these having been nearly expended.

General Montgomery pressed on to Montreal. It being capable of making no defence, governor Carleton quitted it one day; the general entered it the next. He treated the inhabitants with becoming liberality, engaging upon his honor to maintain the individuals and religious communities of the city in the peaceable enjoyment of their property of every kind; and the inhabitants, whether English, French, or others, in the free exercise of their religion. The general, in all his transactions, wrote, spake, and behaved with that attention, regard and politeness, to both privates and officers, soldiers and citizens, which might be expected from the gentleman. He was careful to push forward in time a number of continental troops under colonel Easton to the point of Sorel River, which they guarded so with can-

- 17.5. non, an armed gondola and their fire arms, that the fleet which had fallen down below Montreal, would not venture to attempt passing it. General Prescott, who was on board with about 120 privates and several officers, was reduced to the necessity of surrendering by capitulation, eleven sail of vessels with all their contents, consisting of, beside sailors and soldiers, 760 barrels of flour, 675 ditto of beef, 376 firkins of butter, 3 barrels of powder, 4 nine and six pounders, cannon cartridges and ball, 2380 musket cartridges, eight chests of arms, 200 pair of shoes, and a quantity of intrenching tools; all of which proved very acceptable to the continental troops, who had no redundancy of any articles whatever. In the preceding midnight, governor Carleton was conveyed, in a boat, with muffled paddles, by a secret way to the Three Rivers, and arrived safe at Quebec the Sunday following.

19.

Notwithstanding the advanced and severe season, general Montgomery marched on for the capital, expecting to be joined by colonel Arnold and his detachment in its neighbourhood, and designing to complete the reduction of Canada before the arrival of any British reinforcement. But while he was advancing, numbers were returning. An unhappy home sickness prevailed, and no specific was so efficacious as a discharge. No sooner was it administered, but the cure of nine out of ten was perfected; who, refusing to wait for boats to go by the way of Fort George, upon their arrival at Tyconderoga, slung their heavy packs over their shoulders, crossed the lake at that place, and undertook a march of two hundred miles, with the greatest good will and alacrity. Three hundred of the continentals passed by

Tycon-

Tyconderoga on their way home by the end of the 1775. month. The ruin of the cause was further hazarded by the turbulent and mutinous spirit of several officers.

Colonel Arnold's arrival, with his detachment, at Point Levi, was not known at Quebec for twenty-four hours; and was at length discovered by his ordering out some men to secure the midshipman of the Hunter sloop of war, who was just landed on that side the river; the boat returned and carried the intelligence to Quebec; on which two ships of war were stationed, one above and the other below Wolfe's cove, to prevent the Americans crossing over. A council was called, and by a majority of one it was agreed *not* to proceed immediately to attack the town. The contrary resolution, backed by vigorous exertions, would probably have put him into the possession of it. On the fifth of November it was really in a defenceless state, without a single soldier. Had the detachment crossed, the gates would, it is thought, have been opened by the disaffected and faint-hearted. The colonel however declared, that he would certainly make the attack when he had crossed, in case they were not discovered to be over. In the mean time, the troops were employed in preparing scaling ladders. Before they were ready with these, colonel Maclean, the deputy governor, arrived at Quebec 12. from Sorel, with about 170 men of his new raised regiment of emigrants; of this colonel Arnold had advice the next day, when, in the evening at nine o'clock, he began to embark his forces on board thirty-five canoes, leaving the ladders behind, and by four the next morning got over and landed 500 men wholly undiscovered. 14. They landed in the small cove where the brave and en-

1775. terprising general Wolfe did, now called Wolfe's Cove. The Lizard's barge rowing up the river, the colonel ordered her to be hailed, and fired upon for refusing to come in shore; on which she pushed off, and carried the account of the detachment's having crossed over. But before this discovery, the men paraded on the heights of Abraham. From thence they sent out a reconnoitring party toward the city, marched across the plain, and took possession of a large house formerly owned by general Murray, and other adjacent houses, which afforded fine accommodations for the troops. Guards were placed on the different roads to cut off the communication between the city and country. The main body, about noon, marched fairly in view of the enemy, and gave them three huzzas, which were returned by a few shot from the ramparts. In the evening the colonel sent a flag of truce with a demand of the garrison, in the name and on behalf of the United Colonies, which was fired upon as it approached the walls. The colonel was certainly overseen; he should have taken the scaling ladders along with him; have concealed his being over, and attempted a coup de main the next night, which might have been done with a prospect of success, as his Canadian friends, English and French, were in the city to second his operations, and as the sailors were then scattered on board the ships, some about Quebec and others up the river. A company of men were sent to take possession of the general hospital. The Canadians were continually coming in to express their satisfaction at the continental forces having entered the country. The next day a certain account was received of the capture of Montreal. Early in the morning the troops de-

Nov. 16. 19. camped

camped and marched up to Point au Trembles, about 1775.
 seven leagues from Quebec, through a thick settled
 country, where you meet, every few miles, with a hand-
 some little chapel. This was the day on which gover-
 nor Carleton arrived at Quebec; and the first thing he
 did, was to turn out the suspected, and all who would
 not assist in the defence of the city. By express from 23.
 Montreal, the forces were informed that general Mont-
 gomery was upon his march, and had sent down cloth-
 ing for them. The general finding plenty of woollens
 at Montreal, at a reasonable price, gave his soldiers
 new clothes, after their having suffered much by the se-
 verity of the climate, to which they submitted with pa-
 tience and resolution, particularly in marching from St.
 John's to Montreal, the road being half leg deep in
 mire. He was also mindful of colonel Arnold's de-
 tachment, which had suffered still greater hardships.
 General Montgomery arrived at one o'clock, with three Dec.
 armed schooners, men, ammunition and provision, to 14.
 the great joy of the colonel's forces, who toward even-
 ing turned out and marched to the general's quarters, and
 were there received and complimented by him upon
 their appearance. The next day the batteaus were sent
 to Point Levi for the scaling ladders. The general ap-
 peared before Quebec, which is the last we have heard 5.
 of his movements.

General Howe issued orders for taking down the old 14.
 North meeting house, a large wooden building, contain-
 ing a great deal of timber; and a hundred old wooden
 dwelling houses and other buildings, to be used for fuel.
 The scarcity of this article, now that the usual supplies

1775. from the country are cut off, will reduce the inhabitants to an extreme difficulty.

Dec. 30. P. S. Admiral Shulldham is just arrived from Great Britain in the Chatham man of war of 50 guns, to supersede admiral Greaves.

L E T T E R III.

Roxbury, April 22, 1776.

YOU have been informed of the measures which the promoters of independency adopted for the ripening of that event; in the advice which congress were prevailed upon to give to the New Hampshire, the South Carolina, and the Virginia conventions.

1776. Jan. 5. The New Hampshire provincial convention proceeded in their design, and voted "that this congress take up civil government in form following—We being authorized in particular to establish some form of government, provided that measure be recommended by the continental congress, and a recommendation being transmitted—the sudden departure of his excellency John Wentworth and several of the council, leaving us destitute of legislation, and no executive courts being open to punish criminal offenders—therefore protesting that we never meant to throw off our dependence upon Great Britain, and that we shall rejoice if such a reconciliation, between us and our parent state, can be effected, as shall be approved by the continental congress—do re-

solve, that the congress do assume the name and power ^{1776.}
 of a house of representatives; that they proceed to choose
 twelve persons, to be a distinct branch of the legislature,
 by the name of a council for this colony; and that no
 act shall be valid unless passed by both branches." But
 this procedure was not universally approved. A me-
 morial and remonstrance of the freeholders and inhabi- ^{10.}
 tants of Portsmouth was presented to the convention
 sitting at Exeter. It sets forth, that "the memorialists
 are greatly alarmed, by the information, that they are
 about to dissolve their existence as a convention, and as-
 sume that of a house of representatives, and to proceed
 to the election of twelve counsellors, who are to act as
 another branch of legislation for the future government
 of this colony." They remonstrate against the proce-
 dure from an opinion that the inhabitants will not gene-
 rally approve it; and wish therefore that the minds
 of the people may be fully taken on such a momentous
 concernment, for that it is their inherent right to know
 the plan, before adopted and carried into execution.
 They say also, "it amounts to an open declaration of
 independency, which we can by no means countenance."
 A dissent and protest was brought into convention, by ^{12.}
 several of the representatives; the purport of it was,
 "We dissent and protest against the present plan of tak-
 ing up government for the following reasons—the vote
 of the continental congress, countenancing the same,
 was obtained by the unwearied importunity of our de-
 legates there, as appears by their letter;—the said vote
 does not appear to have been unanimous, but we have
 reason to think very otherwise;—New York and Vir-
 ginia (which are in similar circumstances with us, and
 are

1776. are much larger and more opulent, and we presume much wiser, and to which we would pay all due deference) have not attempted any thing of the kind, nor as we can learn ever desired it ;—it appears assuming for so small a colony to take the lead in a matter of so great importance ;—our constituents never expected us to make a new form of government, but only to set the judicial and executive wheels in motion ;—it appears to us, too much like setting up an independency on the mother country.” The convention however proceeded in their plan ; but when it was executed, and the body had assumed the form of two houses, they had the consistency to receive petitions from the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Jan. 18. Newington, Rochester, Stratham, North Hampton, Rye, New Market, Kensington, Greenland, and part of Brentwood, against taking up government in the new established form. Both houses met in the town-house, the petitions were read, considered, and fully argued by 27. the council for the petitioners. It was voted, that the committee write to the continental congress, and lay the plan of government taken up by the colony before them, and let them know that a number of members of this house dissented from and protested against the same, because of its being supposed to breathe too much of the spirit of independency ; and request to know the judgment of the congress thereon. Whatever letter the committee might write was probably forwarded under cover to one of their own delegates ; and by the advice of certain members was not brought before congress as a body, till the day after they had given their sanction to the plan, by admitting upon their journals, on the 29th of February, the credentials of the delegates chosen by the house of representatives on January the 23d.

When

When Mr. S. Adams saw the instructions given by 1776. the capital of New Hampshire, he was dissatisfied, and fearful lest, if that colony took a wrong step, it should wholly defeat the design, he owned, he had much at heart. He had been alarmed before in the beginning of the month, when a motion was made in congress to this purpose.—“Whereas we have been charged with aiming at independency, a committee shall be appointed to explain to the people at large the principles and grounds of our opposition, &c.” It would not do for Mr. S. Adams evidently to interest himself in opposing the motion, though he was apprehensive that they should get themselves on dangerous ground; but some other delegates prevailed so far as to have the matter postponed; and yet they could not prevent the assigning of a day to consider it. Some little time before, he had conversed with another gentleman, probably a Virginia delegate, about a confederation; when they agreed it must soon be brought on, and that if all the colonies would not come into it, it had better be done by those that inclined to it. Mr. Adams promised, he would endeavour to unite the New England colonies in confederation, if none of the rest would join in it: the other approved of it, and said, that, if Mr. S. Adams succeeded, he would cast in his lot among them. Many of the principal gentlemen in the Massachusetts have been long urging their delegates at congress to bring forward independency: the more so, from a persuasion that, resistance unto blood having been once made against the governmental measures, the British spirit will never be quieted, with any thing short of those concessions and satisfactions, which Americans can never make.

Gene-

1776. General Washington has no wish, that the congress would declare the colonies independent: but many other officers, especially among the New Englanders, are desirous of it; though the situation of their military affairs could of late afford them no reasonable encouragement. They have been obliged to change their army by a new enlistment under the mouths of their enemy's cannon; and while employed in this operation, had not for some time men enow to defend their lines, had the British troops commenced an attack. They had to guard an extent of better than a dozen miles, with few more troops than what were in Boston. Such was the want of muskets, that in order to supply the new enlisted soldiers, they forcibly detained those belonging to the privates whose time was out, and who refused to serve longer; but not without paying for them.

Gen. Greene wrote from—Prospect-hill, January 4, 1776. “Had the enemy been fully acquainted with our situation, I cannot pretend to say what might have been the consequences. I this day manned the lines upon this hill, and feel a degree of pleasure that I have not felt for several days. Our situation has been critical. We have no part of the militia on this hill; and the night after the old troops went off, I could not have mustered seven hundred men, notwithstanding the returns of the new enlisted troops amounted to nineteen hundred and upward. I am now strong enough to defend myself against all the force in Boston.” Gen. Washington thus expressed himself on the first of the month: “It is not perhaps in the power of history to furnish a case like ours—to maintain a post within musket shot of the enemy for six months together without —— (*powder,* he

he avoided inserting the word, lest the letter should mis- 1776.
carry;) and at the same time to disband one army and
recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd
British regiments, is more than probably was ever at-
tempted."

The conduct of the New Yorkers not answering the
desires of capt. Sears, he had for some time taken up his
abode in Connecticut. Being apprehensive, that gen.
Clinton, who was preparing to go upon some expedition
with a body of troops, might possibly be destined for
New York, and considering of what importance it was
that the city should not be possessed by him, he came to
gen. Washington, and urged the necessity of its being
secured by American forces. But the general could spare
no troops, every man of them being wanted in the en-
vironments of Boston. Sears proposed that Washington
should write to gov. Trumbull, pressing him to raise two
regiments for the service. His application was strength-
ened by a letter of gen. Lee's, who wrote to the com- Jan.
mander in chief, "New York must be secured, but it 5.
will never, I am afraid, be secured by direct order of
congress for obvious reasons. I propose, that you should
detach me into Connecticut, and lend your name for
collecting a body of volunteers. I am assured, that I
shall find no difficulty in assembling a sufficient number
for the purpose wanted. This measure I think abso-
lutely necessary to our salvation; and, if it meets with
your approbation, the sooner it is entered upon the bet-
ter—indeed the delay of a single day may be fatal."
Mr. John Adams being at Watertown with the general
court, gen. Washington desired his opinion on Lee's
plan.

1776. plan. Mr. John Adams, in a letter of the next day,
 Jan. showed that the plan was practicable, expedient, and lay
 6. properly within his excellency's authority, without further
 directions from congress. He took notice that a body
 of people on Long Island were intrenching themselves,
 professedly to oppose the American system; that there
 was a body of tories in the city of New York waiting
 only for a force to protect them; and that the Jersey
 troops had been already ordered to that city. The
 measures to be taken being settled, the dispatches were
 8. got ready, and capt. Sears set off with them, for Con-
 necticut. Gov. Trumbull was much pleased, got the
 committee of safety together, hastened the business, and
 col. Waterbury and col. Ward's regiments were raised
 and ready to march, by the time gen. Lee got to Stam-
 ford, within fifty miles of New York, and near upon
 two hundred and fifty miles from Cambridge. Lee set
 11. off on the 11th; and when at New Haven, one hun-
 16. dred and sixty miles distant, wrote on the 16th to Wash-
 ington, "I shall send immediately an express to con-
 gress, informing them of my situation, and at the same
 time conjuring them not to suffer the accursed provincial
 congress of New York to defeat measures so absolutely
 necessary to our salvation." Many of the New York
 provincial congress (if not the majority) were adjudged
 real tories, some so deemed might be only timid whigs.
 22. By the 22d, gen. Lee had collected at Stamford, 1200
 Connecticut troops. The New York committee of safety
 were very averse to his marching them into the city, and
 wrote to him upon the occasion. He answered with
 much prudence, judgment, and resolution: and sent to
 the

the continental congress for advice. They directed him 1776. to repair to the city, and appointed three of their members to meet him there, and advise with him on the measures proper to be pursued. He was detained at Stamford with the gout. The members from congress, and col. Waterbury being at New York, gen. Lee directed capt. Sears to take Waterbury's regiment, and march it immediately for the city. At King's-bridge he was met by a number of the citizens, who entreated him to halt, for that the enemy had declared, that if any troops came in, they would burn the city. Sears pleaded his orders, and marched on. When nearer the city he was applied to afresh, and strongly urged to remain at a distance from it: he observed, that neither the members of congress, nor col. Waterbury, had sent him any orders; he therefore continued his march into the city. The citizens were in the utmost confusion, expecting the enemy would execute their threats, but they refrained. Gen. Lee came on when able; and arrived at New York Feb. in less than two hours after gen. Clinton arrived at the 4. Hook, in the Mercury, together with a transport brig. Their arrival threw the city into such a convulsion as it never knew before. Though it was the sabbath, the inhabitants were engaged in moving away their effects the whole day, and continued it all night. Gen. Clinton sailed from Boston on the 19th, with a number of grenadiers and light infantry, as supposed for Virginia. He touched at the Hook, probably to consult gov. Tryon, and see whether any thing effectual could be done to strengthen the British interest in New York. After a short tarriance, he proceeded to the southward. Gen. Lee, upon his arrival, gave out, " If the men of war
set

1776. set one house on fire in consequence of my coming, I will chain a hundred of their friends together by the neck, and make the house their funeral pile." He would in all likelihood, have retaliated in some formidable manner. While Clinton remained at the Hook, various works were erected for the defence of the city. Nine days before his arrival, on the 26th of January, and a week after his sailing, care was taken to send over to Long Island seven hundred of the Jersey militia, and three hundred of the Jersey regulars, to disarm those persons in Queen's county who opposed American liberty, and to secure their leaders, which was accomplished.

The congress, receiving information of the disaffection of the inhabitants of Tryon county, resolved upon disarming them, and providing for the future tranquillity of those parts. They committed the business to gen. Schuyler. The general having no troops at Albany to carry into execution their resolutions, was under the necessity of communicating his business to the sub-committee of the county, after having administered an oath of secrecy. They contrived to call upon 700 militia: but so great was the zeal of the people, and they followed in such numbers (although the weather was cold in the extreme) that by the time he reached Caghawaga, he had near 3000 men, including 900 of the Tryon county militia. On Tuesday the 16th, the general marched to Shenectady; and in the evening, a deputation from the Mohawk Indians delivered him a speech in a haughty tone, evidently calculated to prevent his proceeding to Sir John Johnson's, who was thought, or known to be making military preparations. Schuyler in his answer told them, that he had full proof, that many people in

Johnstown

Jan.
16.

Johnstown, and the neighbourhood thereof, had for a considerable time past made preparations to carry into execution the wicked design of the king's evil counsellors, and added, " We have no objection, nay, we wish that you and your warriors should be present to hear what we shall propose to Sir John, and the people in and about Johnstown, who are our enemies. But we beg of you to tell your warriors, that although we have no quarrel with them, yet if we should be under the disagreeable necessity of fighting with our enemies, and your warriors should join them and fight against us, that we will repel force by force." They replied and said, " Brother Schuyler, the great man, attend. Every thing that has been said to us, brother, has been perfectly agreeable to us, &c." A letter was sent to Sir John Johnson, requesting a meeting with him the next day, and assuring him, that he and such persons whom he might choose to attend him, should pass safe and unmolested to the place where he might meet him, and from thence back to the place of his abode. Sir John accordingly met gen. Schuyler about sixteen miles beyond Shenectady, accompanied by some of the leading Scotchmen, and two or three others, when proposals were made to him : he begged time to answer until the next evening, to which Schuyler consented. On Thursday the general approached within four miles of Johnstown. Sir John sent out answers to the proposals of the preceding day, which not being satisfactory, the general determined to march his troops to Johnson-hall without delay : but gave Sir John till twelve at night, to reconsider the matter, after which he would receive no proposals. At twelve an answer came from Sir John, in behalf of

1776. himself, the inhabitants of Kingsborough, and the neighbourhood adjacent. It was agreed to deliver up all cannon, arms, and military stores whatsoever, that to his knowledge were in the county, a few favorite family arms excepted :—that Sir John, having given his parole of honor not to take up arms against America, shall confine himself to certain limits :—that the Scotch inhabitants shall surrender their arms, and the general may take any six prisoners from among them as he chooses, without resistance, to be treated however with humanity, and with all due deference to rank :—that the inhabitants shall give up their arms, and enter into like engagements with the Scotch inhabitants :—and that all the men referred to in the above articles shall be paraded at Johnstown on Saturday at twelve o'clock, and ground their arms in the presence of such troops as the general may appoint. These terms were agreed to, and on the next day general Jan. Schuyler marched to Johnstown. On Saturday he drew 20. up his men in the street; and the highlanders, between two and three hundred, marched to the front, where they grounded their arms. These secured, the general dismissed them with an exhortation, pointing out the only conduct which could insure them protection. In the evening he returned to Cagnuage, leaving col. Herkimer and the committee of Tryon county to receive the arms of the remainder, and to fix on six of the principal leaders to send to him. He expected that the whole disarmed, or to be disarmed, would amount to above six hundred. Gen. Schuyler's conduct was highly approved by congress; and those who accompanied him in the expedition were praised for their patriotic services.

The following detached articles of intelligence must not be omitted. In the first week of January, gov. Franklin's dispatches for the ministry were seized by lord Stirling's troops and sent to Congress. About the middle of the month, the Jersey men descried a transport at sea. They procured several boats, and sailed in quest of her with four days provision. Lord Stirling commanded. Upon their coming up and along side of her, she was taken without any resistance, for the sailors swore they would not fight for common wages. The Americans are making salt-petre all over the continent, from New Hampshire to Virginia inclusively.

Let us return to the neighbourhood of Boston.

Major Knowlton was dispatched with a hundred men to make an incursion into Charlestown, and burn a number of houses, that they might be no longer of service to the enemy. He crossed the mill-dam upon the ice, between Cobble-hill and Bunker's-hill; and immediately proceeded down the street on the westerly side of the last hill, and destroyed about ten houses, and brought off a few muskets. He performed the whole in less than an hour, without the loss of a single man killed or wounded, though the British garrison kept up a considerable fire of musketry from Bunker's-hill. This expedition confounded the amusement carrying on at Boston, at the same instant.

The British soldiers were much afflicted with sickness and the scurvy, occasioned by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, notwithstanding the powerful exertions made at home to throw in supplies. Many of the vessels, which were loaded in England with live stock, vegetables and porter, had been either taken on the

1776. coast of America, or blown off to the West Indies, by the severe north-west winds, which usually prevail during the winter months. Out of forty sail of transports only eight had arrived. None of these things however hindered the officers from amusing themselves, all they could, in the present situation. They had their balls and theatre, that so they might forget themselves, while seemingly forgotten by their native country. It so happened that they had finished attending the *Busy Body*; and the scenes were changed, that the farce of the *Blockade of Boston*, said to be written by gen. Burgoyne, might be performed. The figure designed for gen. Washington had just made his appearance (as we are told) upon the stage, with a large wig and long rusty sword, together with his orderly serjeant, who had on his shoulder a rusty gun seven feet long; now it was, that one of the regular serjeants came running on the stage, threw down his bayonet, and called out lustily, "the Yankees are attacking Bunker's-hill." They, who were unacquainted with the farce, thought that this was a part of it, but when gen. Howe cried out, *officers to your alarm posts*, instead of mirth and laughing, there was shrieking, crying, fainting, &c.

The inhabitants of the town have been supplied with fresh provisions once in a while from Nova Scotia. Within two days of the above affair, a sloop arrived with beef, poultry and hay: the hay sold for a guinea a hundred weight, the beef for one and sixpence the pound, geese nine shillings a piece, and other articles proportionably, in sterling money.

There was such a continued backwardness in the Americans to serve in the army, that gen. Washington

was more and more convinced, that it could never be raised to the new establishment by voluntary inlistments. Such was its present inequality to capital operations, that it was unanimously agreed in a council of war, to request thirteen regiments of militia to be at Cambridge by the first of February, and to remain if wanted to the last of March, that so a vigorous attempt might be made on the army in Boston, if practicable. The news of the unsuccessful attempt upon Quebec, and general Montgomery's death was publicly known not only in the American quarters, but at Boston. Let me give you an account of the siege down to the latest intelligence from thence.

The garrison of Quebec, when gen. Montgomery appeared before it, consisted of col. Maclean's men, a hundred and seventy; a company of the seventh regiment, sixty; marines, forty; militia, about eight hundred; and seamen, belonging to the king's frigates and to the merchant ships which wintered in the harbour, four hundred and fifty, in all fifteen hundred and twenty. The general was at the head of upward of eight hundred men * only; so small was the force he brought with him, after leaving a corps at Montreal; and so much was Arnold's detachment reduced, by the return of col. Enos's division and other unfavorable circumstances. Thus you see the besiegers were little more than half the garrison. Upon his appearing before the city he sent forward a flag of truce which was fired upon by order of Sir Guy Carleton; at this gen. Montgomery was so provoked, that the next day he wrote to Sir Guy a letter, in which he departed from the common

* General Montgomery's letter of December 18.

1775. mode of conveying his sentiments ; and made use of threats and language that he would otherwise have probably declined. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the season he set about erecting works. His batteries were composed of snow and water, which soon became solid ice. He planted on them five pieces of ordnance, twelve and nine pounders, with one howitzer : but the artillery was inadequate, and made no impression ; it was therefore soon in contemplation to storm the city. A
- Dec. council was held by all the commanding officers of col.
16. Arnold's detachment in the evening ; and a large majority was for storming the garrison, as soon as the men were provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand grenades. In a few days several of the men were ill of the small-pox ; those who were well and fit for service were ordered to wear hemlock sprigs in their hats, to distinguish them in the attack upon the works. Col.
25. Arnold's detachment paraded in the evening, at capt. Morgan's quarters, when gen. Montgomery attended, and addressed them on the subject of an assault on Quebec, in a sensible spirited manner. The scheme of storming was wholly the general's, who, in the council of war on the occasion, showed the necessity, practicability, and importance of it, in such a clear and convincing manner, that they were all agreed and full in the measure. But he was forced into the scheme from this circumstance, that a part of his small army had to serve no longer than to the end of the year, and three companies of Arnold's detachment were grown uneasy, and were determined to return home. His army did not now exceed eight hundred sick and well ; only seven hundred and

and thirty were fit for duty *. The attempt had the 1775.
 appearance of rashness; but the general was persuaded
 that men, who had behaved so well, would follow him,
 and that many of Sir Guy Carleton's forces would not
 fight, when actual service commenced. The general
 in his dispatches wrote, "I have so early reported to 26.
 you my determination to return home, I take it for
 granted measures are taken to supply my place. Should
 not any body arrive, I must conclude congress mean
 to leave the management of affairs in gen. Wooster's
 hands, (Wooster was at Montreal.) If this business
 should terminate in a blockade, I shall think myself at
 liberty to return. However if possible, I shall first make
 an effort for the reduction of the town. I had reason
 to believe, when I wrote last, the troops well inclined
 for a coup de main. I have since discovered, that three
 companies of col. Arnold's detachment are averse. They
 are within a few days of being free from their engage-
 ments: I must try every measure to prevent their de-
 parture." The next day at evening the troops assembled 27.
 by his order, with design to make an attack, and were
 about to march, when a fresh order came for their re-
 turning to quarters—the weather being thought not pro-
 per. Several men deserting to the enemy, the general
 was induced to alter his plan, so that no part of it trans-
 pired to the besieged. The weather being stormy, and 30.
 the ladders being ready, the troops were ordered to pa-
 rade at two o'clock the next morning.

The troops assemble at the time appointed—they 31.
 that are to make the attack by the way of Cape Dia-
 mond, at the general's quarters on the heights of Abra-

* Dr. Linn's letter to me.

1775. ham, and are headed by the general—they that are to make the attack through the suburbs of St. Roe, at the guard-house in St. Roe, and are headed by col. Arnold. The division under Montgomery consists of the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th battalions of the New York troops, and part of col. Easton's regiment; but of about two hundred men only. The division under Arnold is made up out of the two battalions detached from Cambridge, and amount to about three hundred. Col. Livingston, with a regiment of one hundred and sixty Canadians, and major Brown with part of a regiment of Massachusetts troops, are to make a false attack upon the walls to the southward of St. John's gate, and in the mean time to set fire to the gate with the combustibles prepared for that purpose. The colonel is also to give the signals for the combination of attack, which is to begin exactly at five o'clock. [It is said, that capt. Frazer of the emigrants, then on picket, going his rounds, saw the rockets fired off as signals, and from his knowledge of the service, forming a conjecture of what would happen, beat to arms without orders, and so prepared the garrison for defence.] The different routes the assailing bodies have to make, the depth of the snow, and other obstacles, prevent the execution of Livingston's command. The general moves with his division, attended by a number of carpenters, to the pickets at Cape Diamond. These are soon cut with the saws, and the general pulls them down with his own hands. He enters with his aid de camp Mr. M'Pherson, Mr. Antill the engineer, capt. Cheeseman, and the carpenters. As they are entering, their guides forsake them; which alarms the general and other officers, who are unacquainted with

with the pass and situation of the enemy's artillery. 1775. They however press on. The general observing that the troops do not follow with spirit, calls out "Hie! for shame! shall the New York troops desert the cause in the critical moment? Will you not follow when your general leads? Push on brave boys, Quebec is ours." A few act with resolution, advance, and attack the guard house, when the enemy give a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms; which occasions the fall of the general, his aid de camp, capt. Cheeseman and others. The firing from the guard house ceases, by the enemy's quitting their post, and the opportunity offers for the assailants to push forward with success. But the deputy quarter master general, Campbell, with the rank of a colonel, assumes the command; and not being equal to the special service of the moment, unhappily orders a retreat, which takes place, and the wounded are carried off to the camp.

Come we now to col. Arnold's division, which is ordered to proceed in the following manner, viz. a lieutenant and thirty men are to march in front as an advanced guard; then the artillery company with a field piece mounted on a sled; after that the main body, of which capt. Morgan's company is first. The advanced party is to open, when near the battery raised upon a wharf, which the assailants are obliged to attack in their way; and when the field piece has given them a shot or two, the advanced party are to rush forward with the ladders, and force the battery, while capt. Morgan's company are to march round the wharf, if possible, on the ice. But the snow being deep, the piece of artillery is brought on very slowly, and is finally obliged to
be

1775. be left behind. The main body also are led wrong. There is no road, the way is dark and intricate, among stores, houses, boats and wharfs; and they are harassed at the same time with a constant fire of the enemy from the walls, which kills and wounds numbers, without their being able in the least to annoy them. The field piece not coming up, the advanced party with capt. Morgan's company attack the battery, some firing into the port-holes, or kind of embrasures, while others scale the battery with ladders, and immediately take possession of it and of the guard consisting of thirty men. This attack is executed with such dispatch, that the enemy discharge only one of their cannon. One or two men are lost on each side. Colonel Arnold receives a wound in one of his legs with a musket ball, and is carried to the general hospital. When the prisoners are taken care of, and a few men come up (which is in about half an hour) the men attempt the next barrier, but cannot force it, as the main body is some time before it can arrive, occasioned by the before-mentioned obstacles. The enemy moreover, having the opportunity, from the retreat of Montgomery's division after his fall, turn their whole force and attention upon this, so that before it can attempt the second barrier, the assailed get such a number of men behind the barrier and in the houses, that the assailants are surrounded with a fire from treble their number, and find it impossible to force it, the former being under cover, while the latter are quite exposed: here they lose some brave officers and men. What adds to their embarrassment, they fail of being aided by a company of their comrades, who were quartered on the north side of the river St. Charles,

Charles, and not having notice in season, in endeavour- 1775-
ing to join the main body, are surpris'd and mostly
taken prisoners, by a party, who make a fortie through
palace gate. They who are near the second barrier, at
length take possession of some houses, and from them
keep up a constant fire for some time; but as the party,
which sallied out of palace gate, comes upon the rear
of the assailants, and the number of these is greatly less-
ened by killed and wounded, it is thought best to re-
treat to the first battery. This they do with the greatest
part of their men, where upon a consultation of officers
present, it is the unanimous opinion, that a further re-
treat is impracticable. They maintain their ground till
ten o'clock, and all hope of relief being over, are at last
obliged to surrender prisoners of war, with great re-
luctance.

By the best account that can be obtained at present,
they have lost in killed and wounded about a hundred—
one captain and two lieutenants killed—col. Arnold,
two captains, two lieutenants, and a brigade major,
wounded. The loss of the general's division is, the ge-
neral, his aid, capt. Cheefeman, and half a score pri-
vates killed, beside the wounded. The general was
shot through both his thighs and his head. His body
was taken up the next day: an elegant coffin was pre-
pared, and he was decently interred the Thursday after.
We are told, that when his body was taken up his fea-
tures were not in the least distorted; but his countenance
appeared regular, serene and placid—like the soul that
had lately animated it. The general was tall and slen-
der, well limbed, of easy, graceful and manly address.
He had the voluntary love, esteem and confidence of
the

1776. the whole army. He was of a good family in Ireland, and served with reputation in the late war with France. His excellent qualities and disposition procured him an uncommon share of private affection—his abilities of public esteem. His death is considered as a greater loss to the American cause, than all the others with which it was accompanied.

When the continental troops had collected after the unsuccessful attack on Quebec, there was a dispute who should command, and whether it was advisable to raise the siege, or tarry until a reinforcement should arrive. A council of war agreed, that col. Arnold should command, and should continue the siege, or rather the blockade, which was accordingly done, apparently at no small risk, as they had not many more than four hundred men fit for duty. But they retired about three miles from the city, and posted themselves advantageously *. After mentioning, that the prisoners made in the attempt to surprise Montreal have been sent to Great Britain, and col. Allen in irons, let us return to Boston and its environs.

Feb. 14. About four in the morning, a party from the castle under col. Leslie joined another, amounting to about five hundred, sent over the ice to Dorchester Neck by gen. Howe. They burnt about half a dozen houses; but the general's scheme failed. He had been up the whole night, getting ready for an attack with a large body of troops. He expected, that the burning of the houses would occasion such an alarm, as to put the American officers upon sending from Roxbury lines a

* Colonel Meigs's manuscripts, and Dr. Linn's letter, have furnished most of the above particulars.

large reinforcement, and thereby giving him an advantageous opportunity of attacking them; but at day break, he found their men as usual at their alarm posts, so that he declined it. The strength of the ice having been tried in one place, and the frost continuing, gen. Washington was desirous of embracing the season for passing over it, from Cambridge side into Boston. He laid before a council of war the following question: 16.
“A stroke well aimed at this critical juncture, may put a final period to the war, and restore peace and tranquillity so much to be wished for, and therefore whether, part of Cambridge and Roxbury bays being frozen over, a general assault should not be made on Boston?” Gen. Ward opposed the idea, saying, “the attack must be made with a view of bringing on an engagement, or of driving the enemy out of Boston, and either end will be answered much better by possessing Dorchester heights.” Gen. Gates was also against it. The commander in chief was evidently for it. He did not appear enough sensible of the importance of Dorchester heights; and probably confided too much in the courage and perseverance of the continental troops and militia. When the votes were called for, the majority were against the attack. The commander in chief could not refrain from showing, that he was greatly dissatisfied. But a negative being put on the question, the next point to be considered was, whether they should possess themselves of Dorchester heights, with a view of drawing the enemy out. This was agreed upon; and the conducting of the business was left wholly to gen. Ward, who with generals Thomas and Spencer, commanded on that quarter. They had been for some time collecting fascines,
cines,

1776. cines, gabions, &c. unknown to gen. Washington, in expectation that the same would be wanted for this purpose. Had they not practised such foresight, it is to be much doubted whether they could have been in sufficient forwardness. The militia, which were called for from the New England colonies to assist in some grand operation meant to be undertaken between the first of February and the end of March, collected apace; but the want of arms was prodigious. Every thing was carried on with the utmost expedition; that so the heights might be occupied as soon as possible. The design was no secret, and many were fearful, that gen. Howe would secure them before the Americans; but he could not spare a sufficient force for the purpose. Not only so, but there was neither water nor covering upon the heights; and had a corps been employed by him to gain the possession of them, it would have been in danger of being surrounded, of having its communication cut off, and of being obliged to surrender, in less than twenty-four hours, through the severity of the weather.
26. The Americans had got forty-five batteaus, each to carry eighty men, and two floating batteries, stationed at the mouth of Cambridge river; by the help of these, they meant to rush into the west of Boston, should the enemy make a serious affair of Dorchester. A council of war was called to fix the time for going upon the heights. The quarter master general, col. Miffin, was summoned to the council for the first time. He went prepossessed in favor of the night of March the 4th, a friend having reminded him, that probably the action would be the next day; and that it would have a wonderful effect upon the spirits of the New Englanders, to tell

tell them when about engaging—"Remember the fifth 1776.
of March, and avenge yourselves for the massacre at
Boston." When required to give his opinion, he spake
in favor of the aforementioned night, and supported
it in opposition to the contrary sentiment of gen. Gates,
who for some reasons deemed it an improper time.
After a debate, it was carried for that night by a ma-
jority of one. It was concluded, that several regiments
of militia from the neighbouring towns, should march
in, and do duty for a few days on the lines of Dorches-
ter and Roxbury. Among other preparations which
had been making against the day of action, the doctors,
surgeons, mates, &c. had been preparing two thousand
bandages for broken legs, arms, and dangerous wounds.
Though this circumstance was well known in camp, the
men did not appear daunted at the idea of the horrid
carnage it imparted. There was a spirit of animation
among them, intimating a strong desire of coming to
blows with the enemy. To conceal the design of the
Americans, and to divert the enemy's attention, a very
heavy service of cannon and mortars began to play upon
the town, between ten and eleven, on Saturday night, Mar. 2.
from Cobble-hill, Lechmere's-point, and Lamb's-dam,
a fortified battery at Roxbury. The firing was conti-
nued all that, and the two succeeding nights. The
first night, two seven inch, and one ten inch, and the
Congress mortar burst; the last after firing twice or thrice.
Till the Saturday night, the enemy did not believe that
the continentals had so many warlike instruments. But
Mr. Henry Knox, who was unanimously elected by con-
gress colonel of the regiment of artillery the 17th of
last November, had been to Tyconderoga, and brought
from

1776. from thence and Crown Point, across the lakes, while frozen sufficient to bear cannons, mortars and howitzers, to the number of fifty and better. Shells &c. they had got from the king's store at New York, and out of the ordnance brig. The cannonade and bombardment did little damage, only shattered some houses and hurt a few soldiers.

Mar. 4. All things being ready on the Monday; as soon as the evening admits, the expedition goes forward. The covering party of 800 men lead the way; then come the carts with the intrenching tools; after them the main working body of about 1200 under gen. Thomas: a train of more than 300 carts, loaded with fascines, hay in bundles of 7 or 800 weight, &c. close the martial procession. The bundles of hay are designed for Dorchester Neck, which is very low, and exposed to be raked by the enemy; and are to be laid on the side next to them, to cover the Americans in passing and repassing. Every man knows his place and business. The covering party, when upon the ground, divides; half goes to the point nearest to Boston, the other to that next to the castle. All possible silence is observed. But there is no occasion to order the whips to be taken from the waggoners, lest their impatience, and the difficulty of the roads should induce them to make use of them, and occasion an alarm*. The whips used by the drivers of these ox-carts, are not formed for making much noise, and can give no alarm at a distance. The men in driving their oxen commonly make most noise with their voices; and now a regard to their own safety dic-

* See the Marquis de Chastelleaux's Travels in North America, vol. ii. p. 275.

tates to them, to speak to their cattle, as they move 1776.
 on, in a whispering note. There are no bad roads to
 require an exertion; for the frost having been of long
 continuance, they are so hard frozen, as to be quite
 good. The wind lies to carry what noise cannot be
 avoided by driving the stakes and picking against the
 ground, (still frozen above eighteen inches deep in many
 places) into the harbour between the town and the castle,
 so that it cannot be heard and regarded by any who have
 no suspicion of what is carrying on, especially as there
 is a continued cannonade on both sides. Many of the
 carts make three trips, some four; for a vast quantity
 of materials has been collected, especially chandeliers
 and fascines. By ten o'clock at night the troops have
 raised two forts, one upon each hill, sufficient to defend
 them from small arms and grape shot. The night is
 remarkably mild, a finer for working could not have
 been selected out of the three hundred and sixty-five.
 They continue working with the utmost spirit, till re-
 lieved the Tuesday morning about three. It is so hazy 5.
 below the heights, that the men cannot be seen, though
 it is a bright moon-light night above on the hills. It
 is some time after day break before the ministerialists in
 Boston can clearly discern the new erected forts. They
 loom to great advantage, and are thought to be much
 larger than is really the case. General Howe is asto-
 nished upon seeing what has been done; scratches his
 head, and is heard to say, "I know not what I shall
 do; the rebels have done more in one night, than my
 whole army would have done in months." The admiral
 informs him, that if the Americans possess those
 heights, he cannot keep one of his majesty's ships in the
 harbour.

1776. harbour. A council of war determines to attempt dislodging them.

General Washington has settled his plan of defence and offence. Boston is so surrounded on every land side by neighbouring hills, that nothing can take place on the wharfs or next to the water, but it may be noted by the help of glasses. Proper signals having been agreed on, by means of the hills, which are in view one of another, intelligence can be conveyed instantly from Dorchester heights to Roxbury, and from Roxbury to Cambridge, and so the reverse. This mode of communicating information is the speediest and safest. Gen. Washington's plan is, in case any number of the enemy leave Boston to attack the heights and are defeated, to communicate such defeat by the proper signal, when 4000 provincials are to cross over from Cambridge side, and attempt the town in the confusion that the regulars will be under. The boats are prepared, and the men paraded ready to embark. Gen. Sullivan commands the first division, and gen. Greene the second. Gen. Heath objected to the command when offered, and remains in perfect safety with the troops left in Cambridge. The whole force which the commander in chief now has, including all the militia, is not much short of 20,000.

All is hurry and bustle in Boston. Gen. Howe orders the ladders in town to be cut to ten feet lengths, that they may be fit for scaling. A large body of troops are to embark on board the transports, and to proceed down the harbour, with a view of landing in the hollow between the furthest of the two fortified hills and the castle. The men are observed by one, at whose door

door they are drawn up before embarking, to look in 1776. general, pale and dejected; and are heard to say, "It will be another Bunker's-hill affair or worse"—they have adopted the prevailing mistake of Bunker's for Breed's-hill. Some show great resolution, and boast of what they will do with the rebels. When these troops, amounting to about 2000, and designed to be under the command of lord Percy, are upon the wharfs, and passing in the boats to the transports, the Americans expect they are intended for an immediate attack, clap their hands for joy, and wish them to come on. Gen. Washington happens at that instant to be on one of the heights; thinks with his men; and says to those who are at hand,—“Remember it is the fifth of March, and avenge the death of your brethren.” It is instantly asked by such as are not near enough to hear—“What says the general?” His words are given in answer. They fly from man to man through all the troops upon the spot, and add fuel to the martial fire already kindled, and burning with uncommon intenseness. The surrounding hills and elevations about Boston, affording a secure view of the ground on which the contending parties are expected to engage, are alive with the numerous spectators that throng them. A more interesting and bloody scene is apprehended to be just upon commencing, than what presented at Charlestown. They wait, as do the troops, officers and privates, the morning through; and till far into the afternoon, when they are convinced of the tide's being so far ebbcd, that no attack can be made by gen. Howe on the Tuesday, which indeed is not his intention, for he is preparing to do it on the Wednesday. The transports go down in the evening toward the castle,

1776. a floating battery is also towed down, but the wind is unfavorable, and before they reach their destination blows up fresh, and forces three of the vessels ashore on Governor's Island. A storm succeeds at night, such as few remember ever to have heard; and toward morning it rains excessively hard.

Mar. 6. The design of gen. Howe was hereby frustrated, and a deal of bloodshed providentially prevented. A council of war was called in the morning, and agreed to evacuate the town as soon as possible. The time that had been gained by the Americans for strengthening their works, before any attempt could be now made upon them, took away all hope of success; which would have been more precarious than expected, by reason of col. Mifflin's having advised to, and provided a large number of barrels, filled with stones, gravel and sand, that were placed round the works, to be rolled down and break the lines of any hostile advancing troops, when ascending the hills. He is entitled to much praise for all his exertions, and particularly for his conduct on this occasion. There was a full supply of teams and other requisites for the service; and though the men were for a while without cover, and suffered from the rain and cold, yet before Thursday evening he had a number of barracks up; they having been framed beforehand, and brought upon the ground on Monday night. There was a general hurry and confusion in Boston; both troops and Tories were as busy as possible in preparing to quit the town, and to carry off all they could of their military stores and valuable effects. The number of transports and vessels was short of what were wanted. In the beginning of last November, gen.

Howe

Howe received a letter from lord Dartmouth, advising 1776.
to the evacuation of Boston, and the removal of his
troops to New York. He excused himself by pleading
he had not sufficient shipping. He was now obliged to
evacuate with fewer.

A flag was sent out from the select men, acquainting 2.
gen. Washington with the intention of the troops, and
that gen. Howe was disposed to leave the town stand-
ing, provided he could retire uninterrupted by the coun-
try. Gen. Washington brought himself under no obli-
gation; but expressed himself in words, which admit-
ted of a favorable construction, and intimated his good
wishes for the towns-people. He was at a loss to know
where it was that gen. Howe intended going; and though
inclined to believe it was Halifax, yet to guard against
the evil of a mistake, while the British were preparing
to be gone, he sent off the riflemen by land to New
York, to assist in securing that city.

General Howe issued a proclamation, ordering all 9.
woollen and linen goods to be delivered to Crean Brush
esq; be they in whose hands they might. Sundry shops, 10.
belonging to persons in the country, were broke open,
and all the goods, of whatever sort or kind, taken out
by the said Brush, and put on board ship to be con-
veyed away. The next day shops were stripped by him
of all their goods, though the owners were in town.
There was a licentious plundering of shops, stores and 12.
dwelling houses, by soldiers and sailors, carrying de-
struction wherever they went: what they could not carry
away, they destroyed. The next day the same scenes
were renewed, though expressly forbid in orders, and
the guilty threatened with death, if detected in that or
firing

1776. firing a house. The streets were barricaded in different
 Mar. parts of the town, and dispositions made, as though the
 14. troops would soon take their departure. Stores, &c. were plundered by sailors from the ships of war, led by their officers under pretence of orders from the admiral. Proclamation was made by the crier for every inhabitant to keep to his house from eleven o'clock in the morning till night, lest they should annoy the troops in their intended embarkation; but the wind coming about to east, they mostly returned to their barracks again.
15. The troops waiting only for a fair wind to embark, had little else to study but mischief, which they practised to a great degree, by breaking open stores and tossing the contents, being private property, into the dock; destroying the furniture of every house they could get into, and otherwise committing every kind of wantonness, which disappointed malice could suggest.
16. A breast work was discovered to be thrown up by the Americans at Nook's-hill on Dorchester peninsula, which from its proximity, had an entire command of Boston Neck and the south end of the town—a work which the king's troops had most fearfully dreaded. In consequence of it, they began to embark at four o'clock in the morning, and were all on board and under sail before ten*. When it was certain that they were quite gone, search was made, for fear of what might be, and fires were discovered in several houses so circumstanced as to intimate a design of setting them on fire, which was happily frustrated. Nothing but prevailing preju-

† Most of the above from March the sixth, is taken from the manuscript journal of a gentleman who continued in Boston, while in the hands of the British generals,

dice will impute such design to any other than some un- 1776.
principled privates; though an officer of rank was
strongly suspected of having plundered under an official
character, and of having connived at the rascally con-
duct of smaller villains. What so hastened the British
upon a fight of the works on Nook's-hill, was probably
an apprehension, that the Americans would possess them-
selves of Noddle's Island, and by erecting batteries at
both places, enclose the harbour with the fire of their
cannon. When the king's troops withdrew from Charle-
stown, they left sentries standing as usual with their fire-
locks shouldered; but it was soon suspected what regi-
ment they belonged to, and that they were only effigies
set there by the flying enemy. It appears by one of
the orderly books which was left behind, that their force
was 7575, exclusive of the staff; so that with the ma-
rines and sailors, Howe might have been considered as
10,000 strong, had it not been for the mutual jealousies
which took place between the army and navy.

The difficulties which the troops were under, from
being so unexpectedly obliged to evacuate Boston, were
much increased by the numbers who were under the ne-
cessity of removing with them. Many who were disaf-
fected to the American cause had fled there with their
families for safety; beside these, there were not a few of
the old inhabitants, who concluded it was far more pru-
dent for them to withdraw than remain. Both together,
with their families, made up some hundreds, and with
their effects encumbered the transports; to which must
be added the plunder taken from the town, consisting
of furniture and various other articles of a bulky nature.
The suddenness of the evacuation prevented an appli-
cation

1776. cation to Halifax for a supply of shipping to lessen the embarrassments. When the fleet got down to King and Nantasket roads, they remained there several days, and during that period, burnt the block-house and barracks on Castle Island, blowed up and demolished the fortifications; but they did not undertake to carry off the cannon, and only attempted rendering them unserviceable, which was effected as to several.

General Washington was soon acquainted with the evacuation of the town, when measures were taken to preserve the peace and order of it, by placing guards and giving directions as to the admission of persons into it. The day of evacuating, being the sabbath, was in favor of regularity. On the Monday his excellency sent off five regiments under gen. Heath. After marching about a hundred miles, they embarked and went from New London through the Sound to New York by water. The rest, excepting a few which were left in Boston, took the same route, when the fleet put to sea. The American army was well supplied with flour, while in the neighbourhood of Boston, without any particular interruption, owing to capt. Wallace's having been ordered to cruise about Rhode Island, instead of off New London. Consequently the flour for the army always got safe from New York or elsewhere to New London, from thence to Norwich, and then by land to the place of destination. About a week after the evacuation, the British fleet sailed, as was soon known, for Halifax; but commodore Banks was left with two or three men of war to protect the vessels that should arrive from Great Britain or Ireland; some of which will undoubtedly be taken notwithstanding such precaution. It was but
three

Mar.
18.

three days before the evacuation, that capt. Manly took 1776. a transport of 400 tons burden, laden with peas, potatoes, pork, four crout, and ten packages of medicine.

When admission into Boston was allowed, the American troops were very desirous of seeing the town. Many of them came from inland places, and were never in a sea-port; their curiosity was much excited on a variety of accounts. But the small-pox was in several parts of it; and therefore they only, who were past the disorder, were to be admitted. Such however was the desire of numbers, that they were guilty of a deception, to obtain entrance. The thought of being liable to catch the distemper would have terrified them in the highest degree a little while back; but to gratify a different passion, they suppressed their fears, which might operate for the preventing of their taking the infection. The works of the enemy naturally engaged their attention. These, by judicious persons who have surveyed them, are acknowledged to be excellent, and every one is convinced, that it would have been a most hazardous attempt to have endeavoured forcing them.

General Washington appointed persons to procure an account, and to take care of the articles which the British troops left behind. Beside others, there were at the Castle Island and Boston, 250 pieces of cannon, great and small, more than half of which may be rendered serviceable by the aids of ingenuity: the heaviest have been the least injured—four thirteen and a half inch mortars, two of them with their beds weighing five tons each—2,500 chaldron of sea coal—25,000 bushels of wheat—2,300 bushels of barley—600 bushels of oats—100 jars of oil, containing a barrel each—and 150 horses.

1776. horses. Some of the ordnance were thrown into the water; but the Americans will recover them. The joy of the inhabitants, whether such as remained in town or withdrew for personal security, upon finding themselves restored to the safe and peaceable enjoyment of their ancient rights, freed from what they deemed an odious tyrannical authority, in a situation to triumph over the disgrace of their enemies, and with the prospect of speedy relief from the distresses which they had been under for many tedious months—that joy is more easily conceived than expressed. They received the commander in chief with every mark of respect and gratitude, which could be shown to a deliverer.

- Mar. 28. At his excellency's request, Dr. Elliot preached a thanksgiving sermon on the opening afresh of the Thursday's lecture. That you may not be at the trouble of turning to your Bible, take his text in manuscript, "Look upon Zion the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down: not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken." When you are minded to examine the context, look for chap. xxxiii. 20. of Isaiah. The general and a number of officers attended. A dinner was provided for his excellency and other gentlemen in public and private life. The day after the lecture, the
29. Massachusetts's council and house of representatives complimented him in a joint address. They took notice, among many other things, of his attention to the civil constitution of the colony; of the regard he had always shown for the lives and health of those under his command; of his having attended to the preservation of
their

their metropolis, in the quiet possession of which they 1776.
now were, without that effusion of blood they so much
wished to avoid. When they expressed their good
wishes for him at the close, they began with, " May
you still go on, approved by heaven, revered by all
good men, and dreaded by those tyrants who claim their
fellow men as their property"—and finished with, " May
future generations in the peaceful enjoyment of that free-
dom, the exercise of which your sword shall have esta-
blished, raise the richest and most lasting monuments to
the name of a *Washington*." His answer was proper,
moderate, and becoming his situation. It will be to his
honor to mention, that in private conversation, he ex-
pressed himself to this purpose; " The recovery of
Boston, by the speedy flight of the enemy, is more satis-
factory than a victory gained at the expence of much
blood-shed." When he sent off an express to Lord
Stirling at New York, he wrote, " Gen. Howe aban-
doned Boston without destroying it. The town is in a
much better situation, and less injured than I expected,
from the reports I had received; though to be sure, it is
much damaged, and many houses despoiled of their
valuable furniture." The following anecdote of the ge-
neral may be acceptable. A gentleman who had heard
the Rev. Mr. Davis relate, that col. Washington had
mentioned—he knew of no music so pleasing as the
whistling of bullets; being alone in conversation with
him at Cambridge, asked him whether it was as had
been related; the general answered—" If I said so, it
was when I was young." Let us take a transient notice
of the hardships experienced by the Boston inhabitants,
whether they remained in the town, or withdrew from
it,

1776. it, and resided elsewhere till the evacuation. Notwithstanding the universal profession of patriotism, advantages were too generally taken for oppressing them, by extravagant charges. A sensible writer justly censured such proceedings in the Connecticut gazette; and complained, that the refugees were obliged to pay far higher rents for houses than usual, and in some instances double. The greatest sufferings of those who remained, arose from the want of fuel and fresh provisions, not to mention such as resulted from the presence of the British army and navy. Fresh provisions were not alway to be had, and were mostly too dear for the lower class to obtain; but at length the rations of the soldiers were so plentiful, that by the aid of these and arrivals from Europe, they that remained in the town had a tolerable supply of pork, peas, salt-butter, sweet-oil and bread, at a moderate price. But the intense cold of the season rendered the want of fuel extremely grievous. Families, which had been accustomed to plenty, were obliged to burn with the most sparing hand, and to save by going to their beds very early, and leaving them as late. Many kept to them in the sharpest weather, other than as they got up to dress their victuals and eat their meals. Numbers, to supply the want of fuel, pulled up the floors of their houses, the stairs, and whatever offered. The wooden buildings, taken down by order of gen. Howe, were appropriated to the use of the royal refugees. It was as much charity to the poorer inhabitants to admit them to a small fire, as to furnish them with victuals. You must recollect the hard frosts you have in Britain, once in a great number of years, to conceive of what persons must endure through the want of fuel, from the
long

long continued frosts of this country. The houses which the British officers inhabited while in Boston, were generally left in good condition; but afterward much damaged when tenanted by the Americans, whose stile of life did not lead them to pay attention to neatness and elegance.

New York, most probably, is henceforward to be the grand scene of action. Gen. Lee has left the city some time, and is gone to the southward. While there, he took care to remove the good cannon on the battery, and at the king's store, amounting to about a hundred, to a place of safety; a third of them are thirty-two pounders. He also drew up another tremendous oath to be administered to the tories, and sent capt. Sears over to Queen's county with it: which led congress to resolve, "That no oath by way of test be imposed upon, exacted or required of any of the inhabitants of these colonies, by any military officer." In many of the streets of the city there are breast-works, barricado's, &c. and more are making, together with forts in abundance. Actual service began in the colony. A British sloop sent her boat ashore on Staten Island to get water, and a party of riflemen took the boat and crew prisoners. The firing between the sloop and the riflemen lasted all day. The city, in a week's time, was thronged with provincials; and it might be concluded, that the environs were not very safe from so undisciplined a multitude; but there are few instances of so great a number of troops being together with so little mischief done by them. However as they (especially the Connecticut soldiers, whom some pronounce the dirtiest people on the continent) are not particularly attentive to cleanliness,

the

April
6.

1776. the owners of the houses where they are quartered, if they ever get possession of them, must be years in cleaning them, unless they get new floors, and new plaister the walls. Gov. Tryon has lost his credit with the citizens, and is now spoken of with contempt and disgust.

The governor of *Virginia*, Lord Dunmore, was no less popular than Tryon at one time; but is at length as little respected by the Virginians as the other is by the New Yorkers. The measures he has continued to pursue, have only increased, instead of diminishing the general resentment. We left him on board ship off Norfolk, on the 14th of December, and col. Robert Howe in possession of the town. The Liverpool frigate arrived from Great Britain. Soon after, the captain sent a flag of truce, and demanded to be informed whether his majesty's ships of war would be supplied from the shore with provisions: the reply was in the negative; and the ships in the harbour being continually annoyed by the riflemen from behind the buildings and warehouses on the wharfs, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying the same. Previous notice was given, that the women, children, and other innocent persons, might
Jan. 1. remove from the danger. The entrance of the new year was signalized at four o'clock in the morning, by a violent cannonade from the Liverpool, two sloops of war, and the governor's armed ship the Dunmore; seconded by parties of sailors and marines, who landed and fired the houses next the water. Where buildings instead of being covered with tile, slate, or lead, are covered with shingles, (thin light pieces of fir or cedar, half a yard in length, and about six inches broad) let the wind be ever so moderate, they will, upon being
fired,

fired, be likely to communicate the conflagration to a distance, should the weather be dry, by the lighted burning shingles being driven by the force of the flames to the tops of other houses. Thus it happened here; and most of the town was destroyed. Col. Howe, by his positive orders and presence, did all he could to extinguish the fire; but in vain. It is not improbable, that some of the soldiers and negroes, regardless of all orders, instead of extinguishing, used all their endeavours to spread the flames; and thought themselves justified, upon the principle of the property's belonging to persons inimical to the liberties of America. A part of the town escaped; the owners were mostly whigs. Their houses however, were afterward valued, and then burnt by the direction of the ruling civil authority. Thus the whole town was reduced to ashes, that the enemy might have no shelter, should they be inclined to establish a post on the spot. A few men were killed and wounded on both sides at the burning of Norfolk, the most populous and considerable town for commerce of any in the colony. It contained about 6000 inhabitants, and many in affluent circumstances. The whole loss is estimated at more than three hundred thousand pound sterling. However urgent the necessity, it was an odious business for a governor to be himself a principal actor in burning and destroying the best town in his government. The Americans afterward cut off every possible resource from the ships, burnt and destroyed the houses and plantations within reach of the water; and obliged the people, chiefly royalists, to remove with their cattle and provisions further into the country. The horrid distresses brought upon numbers of innocent persons by these

1776. these operations, must pain the feelings of all who are not hardened by a party spirit.

Governor Martin demands our next attention. Though he was obliged to take refuge on board a ship of war, he contemplated the reduction of North Carolina to royal obedience. He had been informed, that a squadron of men of war, with seven regiments, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker and lord Cornwallis, were to leave Ireland on an expedition to the southern provinces in the beginning of the year, and that *North Carolina* was their first, if not principal object. He knew also that gen. Clinton, with a small detachment, was on his way to meet them at Cape Fear. He had for some time formed a connection with the regulators and highland-emigrants, in the western parts of the province. To these people he sent several commissions for the raising and commanding of regiments, and granted another to Mr. McDonald to act as their general. He also commanded all persons by proclamation, to repair to the royal standard, which was to be erected by the general about the middle of February. The highlanders and regulators collected and imbodyed at Cross Creek the beginning of the month; and by the 19th amounted to about fifteen or sixteen hundred. Gen. Moore hearing that they were assembling, marched with his own regiment, and all the militia he could collect, about 1100 in all, to an important post within seven miles of Cross Creek, which he secured on the 15th. On the 12th they marched within four miles of him, and sent in, by a flag of truce, the governor's proclamation, a manifesto, and a letter to the general, which he answered. That and the following night they crossed the north-

North-west river, and took their route to Negro Head Point. On information hereof gen. Moore sent an express to col. Caswell, who was upon his march with 800 men to join him, and directed him how to proceed upon the occasion. Colonels Lillington and Ashe were ordered, if possible, to reinforce him; and if they could not, to take possession of Moore's Creek bridge. The general pursued the enemy; but did not come up with them. He proposed getting to and securing the bridge, which was about ten miles from them. Want of horses occasioned a delay; but col. Lillington had taken his stand there just in time, and the next afternoon was reinforced by col. Caswell. The colonels immediately raised a small breast work, and destroyed part of the bridge. The next morning at break of day, an alarm gun was fired, directly after which, scarcely leaving the Americans a moment to prepare, the enemy with capt. M'Cleod at their head (gen. M'Donald being ill) made their attack. Finding a small intrenchment next the bridge quite empty, they concluded that the Americans had abandoned their post, and in the most furious manner advanced within thirty paces of their breast work and artillery, where they met with a warm reception. Captains M'Cleod and Campbell fell within a few paces of it; and in a few minutes the whole army was put to flight, and shamefully abandoned their general, who was the next day taken prisoner. They lost only about 70 killed and wounded. The Americans had only two wounded, one of whom survived. The conquerors took 13 waggons, 350 guns and shot bags, about 150 swords and dirks, and 1500 excellent rifles. The joy this conquest diffused among the North Carolinians is

27.

1776. inconceivable, the importance of it being heightened by gen. Clinton and lord William Campbell's being then at Cape Fear in sanguine expectation of being joined by the vanquished. The Americans under colonels Caswell and Lillington were about 1000 strong. Parties of men have been dispersed through the colony, to apprehend suspected persons, and disarm all the highlanders and regulators routed in the battle, who are discharged if privates, but the officers are secured. It was but a few months since capt. M'Cleod and another officer took a solemn oath before the committee at Newbern, that their business in North Carolina was only to see their friends and relations.

In *South Carolina*, when the recommendation of the continental congress for the establishment of a form of government came to be considered, a great part of the provincial congress opposed the measure; it had so much the appearance of an eternal separation from a country, by a reconciliation with which many yet hoped for a return of ancient happiness. While they were suspended on this important debate, an express arrived from Savannah, with the act of parliament, passed December 21, 1775, confiscating all the American property found floating upon the water; and compelling all the crews belonging to American vessels, without distinction of persons, to serve as common sailors in the British ships of war. By this act they considered all the colonists from New Hampshire to Georgia inclusively, as thrown out of the king's protection. The timely arrival of it turned the scale, silenced all who were advocates for a reconciliation, and produced a majority for an independent constitution. In less than an hour after the act was

read

read in the convention, an order was issued to seize for 1776.
the public, a Jamaica vessel laden with sugar, which had
put into Charlestown in her way for London; though
she had the day before obtained leave to pass the forts,
and meant to sail in the afternoon. Still the attachment
of numbers to Great Britain was so strong, that though
they assented to the establishment of an independent
constitution; yet it was carried after a long debate, that
it is only to exist "till a reconciliation with Great Bri-
tain and the colonies shall take place *."

The transactions in *Georgia* remain to be related. Gen.
Howe while at Boston, in order to obtain rice, sent
major Grant and capt. Maitland with four transports and
200 marines to Savannah. The South Carolina con-
gress having timely information, commissioned col. Ste-
phen Bull to act in aid of the Georgians: he accord-
ingly marched a body to their assistance. A battery
was erected, which fired smartly upon the transports on
their arrival in the harbour. Upon this they went round
an island in the night to get at some vessels going to
Great Britain. About four o'clock in the morning of Mar.
March the third, the enemy, by collusion with the mas- 3.
ters and others, got on board these ships, where they
attempted to conceal themselves. But knowledge of it
being obtained, 300 men were immediately marched
opposite the shipping, with three four-pounders, and
threw up a breast work. Firing between both parties
after a while ensued. At length it was determined to
burn the vessels, and orders were issued to fire the In-
verness and cut her loose; which being executed, the

* Dr. Ramsay's History of the Revolution of South Carolina,
vol. i. p. 82, and onward.

1776. marines in the utmost confusion, got on shore in the marsh, while the riflemen and field pieces were incessantly galling them. The shipping also were in the utmost disorder. Some got up the river under cover of an armed sloop, while others caught the flame, and, as they passed and repassed with the tide, were the subject of gratulation and applause. Seven loaded vessels were burnt, and the intention of gen. Howe entirely frustrated.

Philadelphia will detain us for a while. Congress resolved, "That to express the veneration of the United Colonies for their late general, Richard Montgomery, and the deep sense they entertain of the many signal and important services of that gallant officer; and to transmit to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death, a monument be procured from Paris, or any other part of France, with an inscription sacred to his memory, and expressive of his amiable character and heroic achievements; and that Dr. Smith be desired to prepare and deliver a funeral oration in honor of the general, and those officers and soldiers, who so magnanimously fought and fell with him in maintaining the principles of American liberty."

They ordered gen. Thomas to take the command of the troops in Canada; endeavoured to collect gold and silver, in exchange for continental bills of credit, for the service in that quarter; and appointed Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll esqrs. commissioners to form a union between the people of the United Colonies and those of that province. They left New York in the beginning of April on their way thither.

As

As the priests have been prevailed upon to refuse the sacraments to those of the Canadians, who are deemed rebels, and as it operates powerfully against the American interest, a priest is gone from Maryland to perform all the needful services of the Romish religion. Congress came to the resolution, "That the inhabitants of these colonies be permitted to fit out armed vessels to cruise on the enemies of the United Colonies;" and many others which related to it. They took notice, in the declaration which preceded them, of the act of parliament passed the 21st of December. This act has made many converts to independency in all the colonies. After reading gen. Washington's letter of the 19th, informing congress of the evacuation of Boston, they ordered thanks to be presented to him, in their own and in the name of the Thirteen United Colonies; and to the officers and soldiers under his command; and that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of the event, and presented to his excellency. They resolved to admit of the importation of any goods and merchandise, (if not of the growth, production or manufacture of, or brought from any country under the dominion of the king of Great Britain) except East India tea. They on the same day determined, "That no slaves be imported into any of the colonies." They ordered a speech to be delivered to capt. White Eyes, whom they, no less than lord Dunmore, in compliance with the expectation of the Indian, addressed with a—"brother capt. White Eyes."

The disuse of tea is again fashionable through the United Colonies. It became so in the Massachusetts, soon after the East India company's teas were destroyed

1776. on December the 16th, 1773. Coffee, which is about nine-pence sterling the pound, is substituted by vast numbers for the once favorite herb of China; now the more readily exploded for having been the accidental occasion of the troubles with which the colonists are exercised.

Apr. Dr. Warren's merit obliges me to mention, that the
 1. lodge of Free Masons, whereof he was late grand master, agreed to take up his remains, and in the usual funeral solemnities of that society decently to inter the same. The spot where he was buried, was pointed out with those attending circumstances that assured them, that they had gained the possession thereof though consisting of bones
 3. only; which were honorably interred in Boston, being attended by a grand procession of the society, accompanied by a crowd of spectators.

Commodore Ezekiel Hopkins's naval expedition is the last article of intelligence to be related. The fleet consisted of two ships, two brigs, and a sloop, all armed and well manned, including better than 200 marines.
 Feb. On the 17th of February they left Cape Henlopen, and
 27. after a pleasant passage of fifteen days, came to an anchor off the island Abacco, about seventeen leagues from New Providence, which gave the commodore an opportunity of inquiring into the state of the last island, and of learning that it was well supplied with warlike stores; on which it was deemed a proper object. The marines were embarked on board some small vessels belonging to New Providence, which had been taken; and the whole sailed Saturday evening, March the 2d; the next morning all the men were landed at the east end of the island. They were marched toward the fort built about half

way

way between the landing and town. Upon their ap- 1776.
 proaching it, the garrison fired upon them; then spiked
 up the cannon, and retired to the fort within the town. Mar.
 The Americans took possession of that which had been 3.
 abandoned, and stayed there the whole night to refresh
 themselves. The next morning they marched forward
 to the town, and entered it without meeting any inter-
 ruption. The officer went to the governor, and de-
 manded the keys of the fort, which were immediately
 given. Upon taking possession of it, he found 40 can-
 non mounted and well loaded, beside a great quantity
 of shot and shells, with 15 brass mortars, but missed of
 the grand article, 150 casks of powder, which the go-
 vernor carefully sent off the night before. They re-
 mained on the island, till they had gotten all the stores on
 board the fleet, and then the whole took their depar-
 ture on the 17th. They brought away with them go- 17.
 vernor Montford Brown, the lieut. governor, and a coun-
 sellor.

The fleet fell in with a British schooner, on the east April
 end of Long Island, and took her. The next day they 4.
 took a bomb brig of eight guns and two howitzers, ten
 swivels and forty-eight men, well found with all sorts of
 stores, arms, powder, &c. On the 6th, about one in 6.
 the morning, they fell in with his majesty's ship the
 Glasgow (of twenty nine pounders and 150 men) and
 her tender. At half past two, the Cabot brigantine,
 capt. Hopkins, jun. came up with the Glasgow, and
 upon finding who she was, immediately fired her broad-
 side; when the Glasgow made her a return of two-fold,
 and with the weight of her metal damaged her so much
 in her hull and rigging, as obliged her to retire for a
 P 4 while

while to refit. On her retiring, the Alfred of twenty nine pounders on the lower, and six ten pounders on the upper deck, commanded by the commodore, capt. Hopkins, sen. came up and engaged the Glasgow for three glasses, as hot as possible on both sides. While thus engaged, the Columbus, capt. Whipple, of eighteen nine pounders on the lower, and ten six pounders on the upper deck, ran under the Glasgow's stern, raked her as she passed, and then lust on her lee-beam, while the Annadona brig of sixteen six pounders, took her station on the larboard quarter of the Glasgow; the Providence sloop of twelve six pounders altered her station occasionally. By day light the station of the American vessels was changed, as the two ships had dropt on each quarter of the Glasgow, while one of the brigs kept astern, giving a continual fire. Capt. Tyringham Howe, of the Glasgow, perceiving the force of the American fleet, seemingly increased by a large ship and a snow, which kept to windward as soon as the action began, and discerning none of capt. Wallace's fleet to afford him the prospect of support, very prudently made all the sail he could crowd, and stood in for Newport. The bravery of capt. Howe's behaviour is to be commended. That he should have escaped from a force, so much superior when united, does not give satisfaction to the Americans, and is imputed to some failure in conduct or courage on the side of their commanders. Commodore Hopkins, in his account of the action, has written, "We received a considerable damage in our ship, but the greatest was in having our wheel rope and blocks shot away, which gave the Glasgow time to make sail; and I did not think proper to follow, as it would have

have brought on an action with the whole of their fleet, 1776. and I had upward of thirty of our best seamen on board the prizes: I therefore thought it most prudent to give over the chase, and secure our prizes; and having taken the Glasgow's tender, arrived the seventh with all the fleet"—at New London. The congress have given April 16. orders, "that the cannon and such other stores as are not necessary for the fleet, be landed and left at New London; and that such of the cannon and wheels as gov. Trumbull shall direct, may be employed for the defence of that harbour."

Commodore Hopkins is thought not to have followed his instructions; and to have displeased by departing from them. The Alfred had six men killed and as many wounded. The Cabot had four men killed and seven wounded, the captain among the latter. The Columbus had one man who lost his arm. The Glasgow had one man killed, and three wounded by the musketry from the Americans. The main damage on each side lay in the hulls and rigging.

Many of your papers, it is observed, are very liberal in bestowing upon the colonists the appellation of rebels, traitors, cowards, &c. while those printed on this side the Atlantic are calling the parties employed against the Americans by sea and land, pirates, banditti, ministerial butchers, butchering assassins, cut-throats, thieves, &c. These abusive names take with the unthinking multitude, whether in high or low life, and set a keener edge upon the spirit of party; but are productive of much cruelty, and tend to beget a rooted antipathy. You will not object to any expence, that may attend the conveyance of this letter by way of France,

no

1776. no other safe one offering at present. My correspondent there will cheerfully undertake the care of any you may want to forward to America.

L E T T E R IV.

London, May 25, 1776.

Friend G.

THE choice of George Washington esq; by congress, to be commander in chief of the American army, is adjudged highly prudent by the first military characters that have served in America, and who conjecture from his acceptance, that the reduction of the colonies by an armed force will be more difficult than is generally expected. The ministers of state however, are bent upon making the attempt. They have not profited by the Lexington skirmishes, nor the Breeds-hill battle. It would be happier for the nation, would they copy the conduct of the Spanish court, toward the inhabitants of Biscay, near upon a hundred and fifty years back. In 1632, the court laid a duty upon salt, contrary to the privileges of the people. Upon this the inhabitants of Bilboa rose, and massacred all the officers appointed to collect it, and all the officers of the grand admiral. Three thousand troops were sent to punish them

them for rebellion: these they fought, and totally de- 1775.
 feated, driving most of them into the sea, which dis-
 couraged the court from pursuing their plan of taxation,
 and induced them to leave those, whom they had con-
 sidered in a state of rebellion, to the full enjoyment of
 their ancient privileges *. It is thought, that a treaty
 with the court of Petersburg for 20,000 Russians, was
 at one time the last year, in considerable forwardness;
 but that the extreme distance of the service, the diffi-
 culty of recall, the little probability of the return of
 many, and the critical state of public affairs through
 Europe, rendered it abortive, after the most sanguine
 hopes of success.

In all the European countries, where public affairs are a
 subject of writing or conversation, the general voice is
 rather favorable to the Americans. In this particularly,
 the lower class of people are adverse to the war. They
 have boldly and without restraint condemned the con-
 duct of their rulers in terms of the utmost acrimony.
 But this has not been regarded, other than as it has ob-
 structed the recruiting service, which never proceeded
 so heavily before. The reluctance of individuals has
 been striking and peculiar: they have not only refused
 the usual proffers of encouragement, but reprobated,
 with indignation, the cause in which they were solicited
 to engage, and exerted themselves to hinder others en-
 gaging. Neither protestants, nor catholics in any num-
 ber, have been prevailed upon either in England or Ire-
 land, to enlist for the American service, though the boun-
 ties have been raised, and the usual standard lowered,
 to facilitate the levies. The recruiting officers have de-

* Mr. Adams's Defence of the American Constitutions, p. 18.

1775. clared, they never before met with so many mortifications in this branch of military business. But among the higher orders of men, a strange insensibility with respect to public affairs seemingly prevailed. The accounts of the late military actions, as well as political proceedings of no less importance, were received nearly with as much indifference, as if they wholly concerned other nations with whom we were scarce connected. You must except from these observations the people of *North Britain*, who, almost to a man, so far as they can be described under any particular denomination, not only applauded, but proffered life and fortune in support of the present measures. The same approbation was also given and assurances made, though with less earnestness and unanimity, by a number of towns in England.

The loss of the American commerce was not generally felt. The prodigious remittances of corn during the British scarcity, and the larger than usual sums which the colonists were enabled to pay from the advanced prices of various articles, these together occasioned an extraordinary influx of money; while an unusual demand for goods and manufactures of various sorts, from different parts of Europe, produced a quick circulation of trade, kept up the spirits of the mercantile classes, and prevented their complaining for want of the American market. Great numbers at the same time were rendered perfectly unconcerned at what had happened in America, or were even rejoiced, because of the benefits they were receiving from the contest. The war being carried on at such a distance, gave employment and emolument to an amazing number of people; and caused that bustle of business and plenty of
cash,

cash, which checked all observation of deficiencies in 1775. other branches of traffic. Add, that a tribe of contractors, dealers, and gamesters in stocks and money transactions, were themselves animated, and encouraged others to join in justifying and supporting governmental measures. Hence, that apathy which has been noted; and which continued till toward the meeting of parliament.

The ministry gave into great expences, to supply the army at Boston with fresh provisions and other articles. It is said, that five thousand oxen, and fourteen thousand of the largest and fattest sheep, beside a vast number of hogs, were purchased and sent out alive. Vegetables of all kinds were bought up in incredible quantities. Ten thousand butts of strong beer were supplied by two brewers. The seemingly trifling necessities of vegetables, casks and vinegar, amount in two distinct articles, detached from the general comprehension of other provisions, to near twenty-two thousand pound: and the hay, oats, and beans, for the single regiment of light cavalry there, amount to nearly as much. To whatever it was owing, the transports were not ready to sail, till the year was far spent. By this mean they were detained on the coasts by contrary winds, or tossed about by tempests, until the greater part of their live cargoes of hogs, and particularly of sheep, perished, so that the channel was every where strowed with their floating carcases. A large part of the vegetables must also have been destroyed by excessive fermentation.

The retaliation practised by congress in cutting off the British fisheries from all colonial provisions and supplies, threw the whole business upon the banks and coasts
of

1775. of Newfoundland into the greatest confusion, and brought distress upon all who were employed by sea or land in that quarter. Instead of prosecuting the service they went upon, many of the ships were constrained to make the best of their way to every place where provisions could be procured. It was computed, that to the value of a full half million sterling was left in the bowels of the deep, and for ever lost to mankind, by the first operation of the fishery bill.

Sept. 11. The storm which happened last September the 11th, during the fishing season, and of which you will have received some general accounts, may probably be reckoned by the Americans, as it is here by the more serious of those who favor them, a providential retaliation of the supreme Ruler on such as had deprived them, by a parliamentary act, of that sustenance, which seemed to be given them as their peculiar property. Lest you should not have had the particulars, let me mention, that a most dreadful tempest, of a particular kind, discharged itself on the coasts of *Newfoundland*. The sea rose near upon thirty feet almost instantly. Above seven hundred boats, with all their people, perished, and eleven ships with most of their crews. At Havre de Grace, no fewer than three hundred boats were lost. The devastation was hardly less on the land; the waters broke in beyond their usual bounds, and occasioned vast destruction. The shores presented a shocking spectacle.

As the time approached for the meeting of parliament, addresses were poured in from different quarters, condemning the conduct of the Americans; approving of all the acts of government; and in general recommending a perseverance in the same, until the colonies shall

be reduced to a thorough obedience. *Manchester* distinguished itself by taking the lead. These addresses necessarily implied an approbation of the measure that was then in execution, viz. the sending of five battalions of *Hanoverian* troops, to replace the like number of British, in the garrisons of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, thereby to increase the force in America with the addition of the latter. The electoral regiments failed for the places of destination the first of November. 1775.

Petitions of a contrary tendency to the addresses were presented from several places. Great bodies of American, African and West-India merchants, with a majority of the inhabitants of the cities of London and Bristol, still struggled to have matters restored to their ancient state, but to no purpose. At a numerous meeting of the freeholders of *Middlesex*, after agreeing to instruct their members in behalf of public liberty, it was moved and carried, “ that a letter should be addressed from the freeholders of *Middlesex* to those of Great Britain.” The tenor of it is in favor of a reconciliation with America, and against the prosecution of the ministerial war. 25,
Four days after, the lord mayor, 29,
Mr. Wilkes, acquainted the livery with his having received a letter from the continental congress, which was read; when it was moved and passed in the affirmative, “ that a letter addressed from the livery of London to the electors of Great Britain should be read;” which was done, and afterward published. Three days before the meeting of parliament, an event took place, which for awhile engaged the public attention. Rumors of combinations in favor of the Americans, had been frequent. It was said, that they were privately abetted by the ad-
vice

1775. vice and correspondence, and assisted by the purses of personages of high rank and importance. These reports spread much alarm through the nation, and exasperated those who considered the Americans as rebels. Hints and suspicions were given and taken; and at length a seeming foundation for them appeared. Mr. *Sayre*, an American born, and a banker in London, was secured; and being examined before the secretary of state, Lord Rochford, and confronted by his accuser, was committed to the tower for high treason, on the ridiculous charge, of a design of seizing his majesty at noon day, in his passage to the house of peers; of conveying him a prisoner to the tower, and afterward out of the kingdom; and of overturning the whole form of government, by bribing a few sergeants of the guards, who were also to bribe their men. After a close and severe confinement of five days, an habeas corpus was granted, and he was brought before the lord chief justice of the king's bench, who admitted him to bail, on his own security, in the trifling sum of five hundred pounds, and that of two sureties in as much, for his appearance to answer the charge. No prosecution was attempted, and at the session in December it was moved to have his recognisance discharged, which was granted accordingly. The secretary will be sued for illegal imprisonment, though it is thought his conduct is justifiable in point of law. His majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech; which proposed sanguinary measures, and charged the American leaders with having nothing in view, but the establishment of an independent empire. It says, "I have received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance; and if I shall make any treaties in

conse-

consequence thereof, they shall be laid before you. And 1775

I have, in testimony of my affection for my people, sent to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, a part of my electoral troops, that a larger number of the established forces of this kingdom, may be applied to the maintenance of its authority. When the deluded multitude, against whom this force will be directed, shall become sensible of their error, I shall be ready to receive the misdeeds with tenderness and mercy. I shall give authority to certain persons to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons, as they shall think fit, and to receive the submission of any province which shall be disposed to return to its allegiance. It may also be proper to authorize the persons so commissioned to restore such province, so returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security as if such province had never revolted." When an address to his majesty in answer to the speech, had been moved and seconded in the house of commons, lord John Cavendish moved for an amendment; which occasioned a long debate, that was carried on with the utmost eagerness and unceasing energy on both sides. The employment of foreign troops to reduce America, was an object animadverted upon by opposition with peculiar violence and indignation.

General Conway, though in place, opposed administration; and condemned, in the most decisive terms, the American war, declaring it to be cruel, unnecessary and unnatural—calling it in plain terms, a butchery of his fellow subjects. He reprobated every idea of conquering America, upon all the grounds of justice, expediency, and

1775. practicability. He declared in the most unreserved terms against the right of taxation, and wished to see the declaratory law repealed (though it had passed under his own auspices when in administration) rather than it should be employed to colour designs, the most opposite to the intentions, publicly declared, of those who supported it in parliament, and particularly opposite to the fullest declaration of his own at the time of his moving it. The ministry made as good a defence as their cause would admit; and pleaded, "We are now in a situation which doth not afford a possibility of receding without shame, ruin and disgrace." Lord North acknowledged, that he had been deceived; that he did not imagine that all America would have armed in the cause. Administration, he said, proceeded upon the information they had received: if other gentlemen were in possession of better, why did they not communicate it? Administration had opposite information, but they adhered to that which came from persons whose interest made them parties with the inclinations of ministry. That which they neglected, as proceeding from mistake or a wrong bias, they now find to have been the truest.

The space of a whole night was consumed in the debates upon the royal speech: it was near five in the morning when the motion made by the opposition was rejected by 278, against 108, after which the address was carried without a division.

In the house of lords, the debate on the address was also long and warm. The duke of Grafton suddenly and unexpectedly quitted administration. He went into a decisive condemnation of all the acts of government for some time past with respect to America, as well as
of

of the measures held out by the speech. He declared, 1775. that he had been deceived and misled upon that subject; and that, by the withholding of information and the misrepresentation of facts, he had been induced to lend his countenance to measures which he never approved; and that he was blindly led to give a support to the one of coercing America, from a firm persuasion held out, that matters would never come to an extremity of that nature, and that an appearance of coercion was all that was requisite to establish a reconciliation. He asserted, that nothing less than a total repeal of all the American laws, which had been passed since 1763, could now restore peace and happiness. The lords in administration did not deny the imperfectness of their information in some matters, but pleaded the impracticability of obtaining such knowledge as might have prevented several disappointments. They were obliged to depend upon the sagacity and judgment of those whom they trusted. They had taken all possible pains to proceed upon sure grounds. It would be unjust to make them answerable for failures, which were occasioned by events totally unexpected by the shrewdest persons upon the spot: to such alone must be attributed the general want of success in the plans pursued in the course of the present year. There were two remarkable instances of this kind; the one was the total alteration of circumstances in the province of *New York*; the other was the implicit acquiescence of the southern colonies in the views and arrangements of the northern. These were events that accelerated with irresistible rapidity the revolution of affairs through the continent, and equally surprised the ministry, who from their intelligence, could

1775. be nowise apprehensive of such an unhappy turn. The defection of New York they imputed to its being compelled into measures, by the Connecticut insurgents, which the people there would never have otherwise adopted. They pleaded, "We must either reduce the colonies to submission, or for ever relinquish all dominion over them, and all advantage from North America." The motion for the address was at length carried by 76 votes against 33. But a protest against it was drawn up, and signed by nineteen peers. In that they condemned the war commenced against America, with the utmost freedom and asperity; and also censured with equal severity, the employing of foreign troops, and various other parts of the ministerial conduct.

As none of the measures adopted by administration gave more umbrage than the employment of the Hanoverian troops, opposition determined to bring it before parliament, in the most solemn and serious manner. A motion was accordingly made in the house of lords, declaring that to employ foreign troops, without the previous consent of parliament, was dangerous and unconstitutional, as being clearly against law. In the debate which followed, various arguments were used for and against the legality of introducing foreign forces into the kingdom or its dependencies, without consent of parliament. As an act of indemnity would have been a recognisance of its illegality, it was studiously warded off, as well as the motion itself, which was defeated by the previous question, carried by a majority of 75 to 32. In the house of commons, the debates on this subject were no less elaborate, and consisted of much the same reasonings. The motion was similar to
that

that in the house of lords, and was lost in like manner, 1775. 81 for, and 203 against it. Thus was a question, of which the magnitude is equal to that of any other fundamental point in the constitution, put off to future decision. While it was in agitation, an incomparable majority of the public agreed in the opinion adopted by the opposition. However they might differ concerning measures to be pursued respecting America, they cordially united with them in condemning the admission of foreign troops into the kingdom, or its dependencies, without the express assent of parliament.

That the designs of the Americans might be completely frustrated, it was proposed in a committee of supply, that the naval establishment of sailors and marines, should be augmented to 28,000 men; and that the number of ships of war on the American station should amount to eighty. The land forces were to consist of 25,000 of the selectest troops in the service. These formidable preparations called up the attention of several principal members in the opposition. In order, if possible, to render the operations of war unnecessary, it was proposed to facilitate the means of reconciliation. To Nov. this purpose, Mr. T. Luttrell moved for an address to 7.
his majesty, "humbly requesting, that he will authorize the commissioners, who may be empowered to act in America, to receive proposals for conciliation from any general convention, or congress, or other collective body, that shall be found most perfectly to convey the sentiments of one or more of the several continental colonies, suspending all inquiry into the legal or illegal forms under which such colony or colonies may be disposed to treat, as the most effectual means to prevent the fur-

1775. ther effusion of blood, and to reconcile the honor and permanent interest of Great Britain, with the requisitions of his majesty's American subjects." The motion was seconded, but when the question was put, it passed in the negative without a division. Lord Barrington, in stating the army estimates, observed that the number of effective men in the army at Boston by the last returns, was 7415; but that the forces in America were augmented to 34 battalions, amounting in the whole to upward of 25,000 men. This augmentation being considerable, he thought it necessary to speak a few words on the subject. He said, he understood that the idea of taxation was entirely given up, and that being the case, it was absolutely necessary to secure the constitutional dependence of that country. The general plan of administration, he believed to be, first, to arm and send out commissioners; and then if the Americans should continue to resist, to employ against them the whole power sent out in forcing them to obedience. His hint about the idea of taxation being entirely given up, alarmed many gentlemen, who had supported government in their coercive measures, with a view, and in a firm persuasion, that the revenue to be drawn from America, would in a proportionable degree lessen their own burdens.

Neither the secretary of state who received the congressional petition brought by governor Penn, nor any other minister, or person in authority, had since his arrival proposed a single question to him, or desired the smallest information from him. This circumstance gave countenance to the charge, that a system had been chalked out for ministers, which they were obliged
blindly

blindly to pursue, and to act in, merely as machines, ^{1775.} without being at liberty to form an opinion, as to justice, eligibility, or consequence. The duke of Rich- ^{Nov. 10.}mond procured however an examination of governor *Penn* before the house of lords. It appeared from his examination—That congress was in the highest veneration imaginable by all ranks and orders of men:—That he believed implicit obedience was paid to their resolutions through all the provinces:—That in Pennsylvania 20,000 effective men had voluntarily enrolled themselves to enter into actual service if necessity required; and that among them were persons of the most respectable character in the province:—That he presumed the major part were in flourishing situations:—That beside these 20,000, there were 4,000 minute-men, whose duty was pointed out by their description. They were to be ready for service at a minute's warning:—That the Pennsylvanians perfectly understood the art of making gunpowder:—That they had made that, and salt-petre:—That the art of casting cannon had been carried to great perfection:—That small arms had been made to as great a degree of perfection as could be imagined:—That the Americans were equally expert with the Europeans in ship-building:—That he was sure the language of the congress expressed the sense of the people of America in general, as far as it applied to Pennsylvania; and for the other provinces he affirmed the same, though from information only:—That the petition which he had presented to the king, had been considered as an olive branch, and that he had been complimented by his friends as the messenger of peace:—That he imagined the Americans, who placed much reliance on the peti-

1775. tion, would be driven to desperation by its non-success:—That he was apprehensive, that sooner than yield to what were supposed to be the unjust claims of Great Britain, the Americans would take the resolution of calling in the aid of foreign assistance:—and That, in his opinion, the neglect with which the last petition was treated, would induce the Americans to resign all hopes of pacific negotiations. When he was afterward cross-examined, he answered to some questions put to him:—That except in the case of taxation, he apprehended, the Americans would have no objection to acknowledge the sovereignty of Great Britain:—That he knew nothing of the proceedings of the congress, they were generally transacted under the seal of secrecy:—and That in case a formidable force should be sent over to America in support of government, he did not imagine there were many, who would openly profess submission to the authority of parliament. When governor Penn had withdrawn, the duke of Richmond, after speaking a few words, moved, “That the matter of the American petition affords ground for conciliation of the unhappy difference subsisting between the mother country and the colonies, and that it is highly necessary that proper steps be immediately taken for attaining so desirable an object.” After a long and violent debate, the motion in favor of the petition was rejected, by a division of 86, against 33, including proxies.

The house of commons was filled with no less altercation in consequence of the demands for the supplies on account of the American war. The land-tax was to be raised to four shillings in the pound. This augmentation occasioned the country gentlemen to turn their
attention

attention to an object particularly interesting to themselves. They had supported coercive measures, in expectation that a revenue would arise from the colonies, to lessen the weight of the burdens with which this country is loaded. Actuated by such hope, they were willing to advance money, while they had a prospect of being relieved from exactions in future, by the contributions to be drawn from America. It was therefore with no small surprise and concern, that they observed, by the language of ministry, that the idea of taxation was in a manner abandoned as inexpedient, or impracticable. They declared, that if that essential object was relinquished, they also should recede from their intention of granting money for the prosecuting of a contest, from which no substantial benefits were to be derived; and which was attended with an expence, that nothing but the well-founded expectation of large pecuniary future emoluments could encourage them to support. These discontents of the landed gentlemen were a serious alarm to ministry. The only method of pacifying them was a solemn assurance, that the intention of obtaining a revenue from America had never been dropped. Whatever language might have been held on this subject, no more was meant, than that in times of so much trouble and confusion, it was not advisable to mix that with other causes of dissension and clamor in the colonies: but, though abandoned for the present, the idea fully subsisted in prospect. This explanatory answer having quieted the country gentlemen, the land-tax was fixed at four shillings in the pound, by a majority of four to one.

An

1775. An address, petition, and memorial, has been transmitted from the representatives of *Nova Scotia* to the king and parliament, in consequence of the minister's conciliatory proposition during the last session. It proposes the raising of a revenue in the colony, by paying a certain fixed sum in the hundred on the importation of foreign goods. By which regulation the revenue will always bear a due proportion to the wealth and consumption of the colony. The rate of this duty is to be ascertained by parliament, and to remain unalterably fixed: the only future regulation to be allowed is, for making the duty correspond with the comparative value of money at the time the rates are settled. But it prays, "that when the exigencies of the state may require any further supplies from this province, that then such requisitions may be made in the usual manner formerly practised;" by which the petitioners evidently mean to secure to themselves the right of granting their own money in all such exigencies. It also contains a list of grievances of which they entreat the redress, while they intimate the necessity of such redress to insure a permanent connection, and to retain the affections of the people.

Nov. 15. As the petition proposed the raising of a revenue under the direction of parliament, administration received it; and on the day appointed the house of commons went into a committee upon it; when upon the motion of lord North it was resolved, "That the proposition in the petition is fit to be accepted, and that the amount of the duty should be eight pounds *per centum*, upon all such commodities:"—that on the formal settlement of this matter, all other taxes and duties should cease, such only

only excepted as regulated commerce; the produce of 1775. which was to be carried to the account of the province:—and that a direct importation into Nova Scotia, of all wines, oranges, lemons, currants and raisins, from the place of their growth and produce, should be admitted. A fortnight after, the resolutions were reported, with a view to frame a bill agreeable to the prayer of the petitioners. But a multiplicity of greater objects engaging the time and attention of the ministers, and further consideration, occasioned a total relinquishment of this business.

The rapidity with which ministry carried all their 16. measures, did not prevent Mr. Burke's moving for a conciliatory bill. The motion was prefaced by a petition from the principal clothing towns in the county of Wilts; and that was intended to counteract another, which had been procured for a contrary purpose, and to prevent (in the petitioner's words) the dreadful effects which might arise from such misrepresentation being conveyed to parliament. The debate that followed was not terminated till four in the morning, when the previous question being put, the motion was negatived by a majority of 210, to 105.

Some days after, the bill for prohibiting all intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies was brought into parliament. You will have received it long before you can get this letter; and must have observed, that the commissioners, whom it enables the crown to appoint, have only the power of simply granting pardons, but are not authorized to inquire into grievances, much less to offer the redress of them. This bill roused immediately the utmost fury of opposition; but the ministry

1775. nistry were prepared to meet it without being moved from the ground they had taken. In the course of the various arguments and methods of reasoning employed against the bill, no few sarcasms were introduced. Among others, it was observed by one of its staunchest opposers, that the guardian genius of America had that day presided with full influence in the midst of the British councils. He had inspired the measures, that had been resolved upon by those who directed the affairs of the country. They were evidently calculated to answer all the purposes, which the most violent Americans, and their most zealous adherents could propose, by inducing the people in the colonies to unite, in the most inflexible determination, to cast off all dependence on this government, and to establish a free and independent state of their own. He therefore moved, that the title of the bill should be altered, and worded in such a manner as should express its real intent and meaning; in which case he was of opinion, it should be stiled a bill for carrying more effectually into execution the resolves of congress. After a long and vehement altercation, the motion for the bill was carried, by 192 votes against 64.

Dec.
11.

In the house of lords, the opposition to the bill was no less keen and severe. It was reprobated as neither equitable, expedient or politic. This bill (it was said) completes the measure of that severity which refuses to listen to the representations of a people, who persist in spite of ill treatment, to call themselves the subjects of Great Britain; and who implore its clemency to suspend the sword lifted to strike them, till one more hearing has been granted them.

In

In the course of this famous debate, it was observed 1775. by a great law lord, that the question of original right or wrong, was not so much to be attended to, as the indispensable necessity of self-defence. We are now engaged in a war, and must exert ourselves to prosecute it with success. The criticalness of our circumstances compels us to fight. The laconic speech, which a Scotch general in the army of Gustavus Adolphus made to his soldiers, is precisely applicable to our situation. Pointing to the enemy he said, "See you those men, kill them, my lads, or they will kill you." After a contest which lasted till midnight, the motion for the commitment of the bill was carried by a division of 78 to 19.

It was followed by a protest of unusual length, and great energy, wherein it underwent a severe scrutiny. A minute investigation was made of every obnoxious part, and no censures were spared of which it was thought deserving. The protesting peers were Richmond, Ponsonby, Fitzwilliam, Abergavenny, Rockingham, Chedworth, Abingdon, and Manchester. We dissent, say they, in one place, "Because we reject with indignation that clause of this bill, which by a refinement in tyranny, and in a sentence worse than death, obliges the unhappy men, who shall be made captives in this predatory war, to bear arms against their families, kindred friends and country; and, after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren." His majesty went to the house of peers, and 21. gave his assent to the above bill; and to others at the same time.

In the course of the debates upon the American business, the great importance of the colonies to the mother country

1775. country was urged, by the ministry, as a reason for exerting the force of the nation in order to reduce them to obedience, though upon other occasions they had been spoken of as little consequence. That this reduction might be the sooner and more effectually secured, the states-general were solicited, by a letter of his majesty's own hand-writing, to dispose of their Scotch brigade, to serve against the Americans the ensuing campaign. The request however was not granted. The opinion given by *Johan Derk van der Cappelle*, in the assembly of the states of Overijssel, was pointedly against it. When entered upon his last observation, he says, " Though not as principals, yet as auxiliaries, our troops would be employed toward suppressing (what some please to call) a rebellion in the American colonies; for which purpose I would rather see Janissaries hired, than troops of a free state."

" In what an odious light must this unnatural civil war appear to all Europe; a war in which even savages (if credit can be given to news-paper information) refuse to engage: more odious still would it appear for a people to take a part therein, who were themselves once slaves, bore that hateful name, but at last had spirit to fight themselves free. But above all, it must appear superlatively detestable to me, who think the Americans worthy of every man's esteem, and look on them as a brave people, defending in a becoming, manly, and religious manner, those rights, which as men they derive from God, not from the legislature of Great Britain."

" Their mode of proceeding will, I hope, serve as an example to every nation deprived by any means of its privileges: yet fortunate enough in being able to make suitable efforts toward retaining or regaining them."

But though his majesty's request to their high mightinesses was not complied with, his message to the parliament of Ireland had met with success, and they had voted on the 25th of November, "that 4000 troops out of the 12000 voted for the defence of that kingdom, be spared for his majesty's service abroad, (the message had mentioned America) the same to be no charge to Ireland after quitting the kingdom." But they declined voting, "that 4000 protestant troops be received to replace the like number sent abroad; these likewise to be no charge to Ireland;" which proposition was also contained in the message.

Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis, with the *Acæon* Dec. and Thunder bomb, sailed from Portsmouth for Corke, 29th to convoy the troops and transports there to America. The *Acæon* put into Falmouth, and took on board col. Ethan Allen and his fellow prisoners, who had been confined in Pendennis Castle, Cornwall: from whence they were removed by direction of government, upon a discovery, that there was an intention of bringing them before the proper magistrate, by the habeas corpus act, in order to ascertain, whether they were legally chargeable with any crime, that could warrant their confinement. No assistance was given to Allen in England; but when the ship arrived at Corke, a subscription for him was begun in Ireland, and an ample supply of necessaries given him, of which he and his friends were in great need. About the 20th of January, the fleet and transports were ready to sail; but the lord lieutenant of Ireland, doubting his power of permitting the troops to go, a clause, giving particular leave on this occasion, was inserted in one of the Irish bills. When the bill came

1776.

1776. came to England, the clause was struck out upon the idea, "that the king had a right by his prerogative to send the troops." The lord lieutenant still retaining his doubts, the clause was inserted in another bill, which was hurried through with all possible dispatch. But so much time was lost by this affair, that it was the 13th of February before the fleet could sail. It consisted of forty-three sail, and about 2500 troops. On the 18th they met with a terrible storm that dispersed them. Some of the transports put back to Corke, others got into Plymouth, Portsmouth, and the Western ports. The *Carcass* bomb got into Portsmouth: when she parted with Sir Peter he had only twenty-five sail with him. It is generally thought, he is destined for the middle or southern colonies.

Feb.
13.

A single rifleman taken prisoner and brought over to England, being carried before the mayor to be examined, was dismissed; as no crime was charged upon him, of which that magistrate could take cognizance.

His majesty having entered into treaty with the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, the duke of *Brunswick*, and other *German* princes, for 17000 men, to be employed in America, Lord North moved, "that these treaties be referred to the committee of supply." The troops were represented as equal to any in Europe for the regularity of their discipline: and one reason assigned for hiring them, was, that men could be more readily had that way than by recruiting at home, and upon the whole on cheaper terms. But the measure of employing foreign auxiliaries was reprobated in all its parts by opposition: however, after debating till past two in the morning, his lordship's motion was agreed to by a majority of 242 to

88. When the treaties came before the house of lords, 1776. they met with equal opposition. The duke of Rich- Mar. mond moved for an address to the king, requesting him 5. to countermand the march of the German auxiliaries, and to give immediate orders for a suspension of hostilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a treaty, to compose the differences between Great Britain and her colonies. He took an historical view of the treaties between the British and Hessian court for many years past; showing that this had gradually risen in its demands, in every successive treaty. The present was said to have exceeded all the former in the exorbitancy of its conditions. He asserted, from the calculations he had made, that the body of 17,300 foreigners, taken into British pay, would, including all contingencies, occasion an expence of no less than 1,500,000*l.* within the course of a twelve month. It was said in the debates— The colonies are to be devoted to the horrors of war, and to be treated as a nation from which we have experienced every kind of contumelious usage. Unprovided with a sufficient number of troops for the cruel purposes designed, or unable to prevail upon the natives of this country to lend their hands to such a sanguinary business, ministers have applied to those foreign princes who trade in human blood, and hired armies of mercenaries for the work of destruction. An army of foreigners is now to be introduced into the British dominions, not to protect them from invasion, not to deliver them from the ravages of an hostile army, but to assist one half of the inhabitants in massacring the other. This foreign connection will be productive of the most fatal events. Hitherto this unhappy dispute has been confined to the

1776. people of the British empire: the colonies have not shown a disposition for the calling in of any other nation as an umpire. They apparently depend upon themselves for its support and termination; and do not, in all probability, imagine that we can be so imprudent as to associate others to our domestic feuds. But when they see that we have a recourse to this odious expedient, they will no longer think themselves bound to stand singly in the contest: they will after our example apply to strangers for assistance. They will connect themselves with such, as instead of requiring subsidies, will supply them with men and money—such as will espouse their quarrel, not from mercenary motives; but from hostile considerations to this country, from ancient habits of inveteracy, from a thirst of revenge for the losses and humiliations occasioned by our arms.

The plea of necessity was the constant shield with which the ministry covered all the measures that had been lately adopted. But with regard to the present, they asserted—Treating with foreign princes for the loan of their troops, is far from being detrimental; the terms are not exorbitant, considering how indispensibly they were known to be wanted, the extraordinary service they are to go upon, the lands and seas they are to traverse in going forth and coming home, and the great uncertainty of their return. The computation of the expences attending them are over-rated. But had the expence been greater, the emergency is such that we must have complied with any terms demanded. The Americans have thrown themselves out of our protection, and are become strangers; so that we should not scruple to employ against them, both our own forces and those of our allies.

Little

Little is to be apprehended from the countenance that ^{1776.} foreign powers may give to America: it is so evident, that their plainest interest militates against their undertaking the defence of the colonies, that it is not a subject deserving of discussion.

After violent debates, the question was carried in favor of ministry by 100 votes to 32. But not without a protest, wherein the lords say, "We have reason to apprehend, that when the colonies come to understand, that Great Britain is forming alliances and hiring foreign troops for their destruction, they may think they are well justified, by the example, in endeavouring to avail themselves of the like assistance; and that France, Spain, Prussia, or other powers of Europe, may think they have as good a right as Hesse, Brunswick, and Hanau, to interfere in our domestic quarrels." When this business was decided, another came on, which occasioned no less ferment. The secretary of war gave notice, that ^{Mar.} the sum of 845,000*l.* would be necessary to defray the ¹¹⁴ extraordinary expences from the commencement of March the preceding year, to the end of last January. This information excited one of the most violent storms of opposition ever known. "Never, (said they) was so vast a demand for contingent expences incurred in so short a time." From the various calculations made on this occasion, they inferred, that no less than one hundred pounds a man had been expended on the garrison of Boston, within less than the term of a year; during which time, they had been reduced to great extremities, through want of provisions; and had endured a variety of wretchedness. The ministry, though assailed with much vehemence, stood their ground upon the appro-
R 2
bation

1776. bation and authority of parliament. They argued—As to the expenditure of those sums, which are loaded with heavy censures, it ought to be remembered, that the operations they were employed in, were numerous and chargeable; and that the various undertakings which had been resolved upon, were of so novel and difficult a nature, as to require the most resolute exertions, and the most liberal support. The Massachusetts had exercised that resistance for which, not imagining it would have been carried to such extremities, they had not made an adequate preparation: but now that nothing less than the most daring and stubborn opposition was expected from the colonists, they should no longer withhold their strength; but should put it forth in such a manner, as would show that Britain was fully able to crush them. A session or two more of firmness and vigor, would bring about an alteration of affairs, and make the colonies repent of the provocations they had given to this country. The motion for the supply was carried by a majority of 180 to 57.

Mar. 14. A fresh attempt was made in the house of lords to prevent a continuance of hostilities. The duke of Grafton moved, that an address should be presented to the throne, requesting that, in order to stop the further effusion of blood, and to manifest the sincere desire of king and parliament to restore peace, and redress grievances, a proclamation might be issued, declaring, that if the colonies should present a petition to the commander in chief of his majesty's forces in America, or to the commissioners appointed for such purposes, setting forth what they considered to be their just rights and real grievances, the king would consent to a suspension

sion of arms, and refer their petition to parliament, ^{1776.} where they might be confident it would be duly considered and answered. All the reasonings of those who supported the motion were totally ineffectual: it was rejected by a majority of near three to one. Thus ended a debate, which put a period, for a while, to all attempts for conciliatory measures, in either house of parliament. But the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, still continued their endeavours, in an humble and decent address, which they presented to his majesty. The answer, though not according to ^{Mar.} their petition, was no wise irritating; and expressed as ^{22.} much mercy and clemency to the Americans, adjudged to be in a state of rebellion, as could be expected, considering what coercion was going forward. Some of the ^{April} *Brunswick* troops sailed from Spithead under convoy of ^{4.} two men of war, and were followed the next day by gens. *Burgoyne* and *Phillips*; *Burgoyne* had left Boston in December, and returned home after a short passage.

Letters patent, by his majesty's order, passed under ^{May} the great seal, constituting lord Howe and gen. Howe, ^{6.} to be his majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies in North America, and for granting pardon to such of his majesty's subjects there, now in rebellion, as shall deserve the royal mercy. The same day, commodore Hotham, with all the transports, having the first division of Hessians on board, sailed from St. Helen's for North America. The troops are to assist in forcing the rebels to ask mercy. Five days after, his lordship followed in the *Eagle* man of war.

According to the estimates laid before parliament, the army to be employed against the Americans, in different

1776. quarters, amounts to 55,000 men, beside all the recruits raised in Canada and other parts of the continent, which may amount to 5000. These estimates must however have supposed the regiments full. But after deducting for deficiencies in all conceivable ways, we may allow the whole land force, with which the united colonies will have to combat, to be at least 40,000 privates and officers.

May 23. His majesty went to the house of peers; gave his royal assent to such bills as were presented; and then put an end to the session. In his speech he said, "It is with pleasure I inform you, that the assurances which I have received of the dispositions of the several powers in Europe, promise a continuance of the general tranquillity."

Many in Britain are more than ever disgusted with coercive measures, from the ill success which has attended their execution. The disasters which have happened, have made a deep impression upon their minds; and they are ready to impute them, rather to the iniquity, than to the imprudence of the schemes in agitation. But administration has been supported by both the press and the pulpit. Several pamphlets, composed with much art and ability, and recommended by many of the beauties of language, have painted in black and hateful colours, the claims and conduct of the Americans; and have, by that mean, not a little inflamed the resentment of the mother country. One of the leading methodist preachers, Mr. W—, has revived the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, nearly as asserted in the last century. He declines practising them toward his superiors in the English church, of which he professes himself a member. The doctors Johnson and

Shebbeare,

Shebbeare, as in duty and gratitude bound for their respective pensions, have published many ingenious things on the side of ministry. But none have distinguished themselves more among the political champions of the day, than Dr. Price. He published in February a most admirable piece, titled, "Observations on the nature of civil liberty, the principles of government, and the justice and policy of the American war." Such was the avidity with which it was read, that it ran through four editions within a month. His opponents may write against it as much as they will, but they will never be able to confute it. On the 24th of March, at a court of common-council, a motion was made and carried, "That the thanks of the court be given to Dr. Price, for his excellent pamphlet on civil liberty; also, that the freedom of the city be presented to him in a gold box." Three days after, at a court of assistants of the drapers company, a motion was made and carried to present the doctor with the freedom of that company. The doctor has conveyed his acknowledgments to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council; and expressed his hope that their approbation would lead the public to fix their views more on such measures as should save a sinking constitution, and preserve us from impending calamities.

You may wish to know the sentiments of the French relative to the American contest. Those of the nobility and gentry, who are tolerably versed in the English language, accustom themselves to the reading of the papers containing the disputes between Britain and the colonies. The generality conceive of the affair as a family quarrel, which the parties will make up after a while. Whatever they may wish, as to its continuance and increase, and

1776. however they may covertly contribute toward its support, they will decline, for the present, all public interference, and give the most satisfactory assurances to the court of London, from an apprehension that both sides would otherwise accommodate, unite and fall upon them. Should the late acts which parliament have passed, and the hiring of German auxiliaries, force the congress into a declaration of independence, they will still remain inactive, whatever preparations they may make, until some very favorable occurrence brings them forward. Till then, they will not think of taking the colonies by the hand; lest Britain should, upon its being done, offer every thing short of independence, and thereby unite them afresh to the mother country; which might disgrace France in the eyes of other European powers, if not expose her to worse consequences.

You will easily conceive of my eager expectation of hearing from you shortly. The operations in America will soon be extremely interesting. Let your informations be as early and frequent as possible.

L E T T E R V.

Roxbury, July 19, 1776.

THE affairs of *Canada* shall employ our first attention.

Sir *Guy Carleton* has treated the prisoners, taken at the attack of *Quebec*, both officers and privates, with the
utmost

utmost humanity. In conversation with major Meigs, ^{1776.} when returning his sword, Sir Guy said, " You were certainly deceived in our numbers, and did not expect we were so strong." The major answered, " No, we knew your strength." Carleton persisted, " You must have been deceived; for you never could have attacked us, had you known that we were double your number." The major rejoined, " We were not deceived; but were persuaded, that many of your men would not fight, and thought that some of them might join us." The discourse was changed, and soon ended.

The blockade of Quebec was continued; but great were the fears of the Americans, as they had no more than 400 men to do duty, while there were upward of three times the number in the city. They were in daily expectation, that the latter would fall upon them. At length capt. Seaborn, with twenty-seven men ^{Jan.} from the Massachusetts, arrived for their encouragement; ^{25.} and was followed by other small reinforcements, whereby they were enabled to rest one night out of two, which had not been the case for a month. They advanced, and began again to erect works before Quebec: but their ordnance proved inadequate. All the troops that could be spared from the garrison of Montreal were sent down: but it was not till late in February, that the ^{Feb.} army before the city amounted to 960, officers included; ^{18.} of rank and file fit for duty, the number was only 772. Mr. Beaujeu embodied a party of Canadians, with the design of raising the siege; but was encountered, ^{Mar.} and easily dispersed by a detachment from the continen- ^{25.} tals. The misconduct of the American soldiery however, lost them the friendship of the Canadians. The
account

1776. account forwarded by an officer was to the following purport—"When gen. Montgomery first penetrated the country, the Canadians were friendly. His most unfortunate fate and other accidents have produced such a change, that they can be no more looked upon as friends. Their clergy have been neglected, perhaps ill used, and so are unanimously, though privately against the Americans. The peasantry in general have been mal-treated; in some instances have been dragooned with the point of the bayonet, to furnish wood at a lower rate than the current price. They have had given them, for articles furnished, certificates which are not legible, or are without a signature; so that one half of them have, of consequence, been rejected by the quarter master general. They have had promises of payment, without being paid; and so been brought to look upon the promises as vague, their labor and property as lost, and congress as bankrupt. With respect to the better sort of people, both French and English, seven-eighths wish to see the throats of the continentals cut. The whole country has been left without any kind of law, other than that of the arbitrary and despotic power of the sword in the hands of the several commanding officers, too frequently abused in all cases of this nature. The Americans have themselves brought about by mismanagement, what gen. Carleton himself could never effect. A priest's house has been entered with great violence, and his watch plundered from him. At another house, the Americans ran in debt about twenty shillings sterling; and because the owner wanted to be paid, they ran him through the neck with a bayonet. Women and children have been terrified, and forced to furnish horses to pri-

yate soldiers without any prospect of pay. While the 1776. Canadians have in this way been alienated from, and imbittered against the continentals; these have been practising the most scandalous waste of provisions, and by it, absurdly adding to the danger arising from their other conduct." On the receipt of this information, congress Apr. resolved, "That instructions be sent to the commissi- 23. oners, to cause justice to be done to the Canadians:— and that the commanding officer in Canada, be directed to be very attentive to military discipline, and to inflict exemplary punishment on all those who violate the military regulations established by congress." They had before ordered four battalions to Canada, they now added six more; and directed the commissary general to forward 2000 barrels of pork thither with all possible dispatch.

While the troops lay before Quebec, they caught the small-pox from a girl, who had been a nurse in the city hospital, and came out among them. The distemper spread, and the soldiers inoculated themselves for their own safety, regardless of all orders to the contrary. The reinforcements, which were daily arriving, practised the same method; so that though, by the 1st of May, the May army consisted of more than 3000 men, there were not 1. 900 fit for duty at the several posts; and the whole were greatly scattered for want of barracks. What added to the distress, medicines and every thing necessary for the sick were wanted. This was the situation of the troops, when gen. *Thomas* arrived to take the command; but still something was attempted. The river about Quebec being sufficiently cleared from ice, the Americans took 3. the opportunity of the flood for sending up a fire-ship, about

1776. about ten at night, in order to fire the shipping; and drew up ready to attack the walls, if the fire should take place. They were provided with ladders; and their scheme was well laid. Had it succeeded, the garrison must have been thrown into great confusion; and had that opportunity for making an assault been embraced, the town must have been in imminent danger of being taken. The ship coming from below was at first supposed to be a friend, arrived from sea to the relief of the besieged. Being night it was not till she was very near the shipping, that she was discovered to be an enemy, when a heavy fire at her commenced; the people on board, finding that they were no longer concealed, lighted the train, and in a moment she was in a blaze; her sails took fire, and checked her way: and the tide beginning to ebb, she was carried down the river. The men made their escape in boats.

General Thomas perceiving that nothing effectual could be done by the army in its present condition, learning that they had only three days provision, and apprehensive of the danger that would take place upon the arrival of British reinforcements, called a council of war, when it was concluded to make the best retreat in their power. The measures which immediately followed, were sufficient indications to the enemy of what was intended. It so happened, that early in the morning after the retreat was concluded upon, the Surprise frigate from Great Britain arrived, and was soon followed by the Isis of 54 guns, and the Martin sloop, with succours. They had by the zeal and activity of the officers and crews forced their way through the ice, while the passage up the river was deemed almost impracticable.

They

They had on board 100 marines, and two companies of the 29th regiment, which were landed with all expedition. About noon, gen. Carleton having joined them to his own troops, marched out, 800 strong, to attack the Americans, who had began their retreat before; for gen. Thomas could not hazard waiting an attack, as he was not able to collect more than about 300 men, on account of their being so scattered on Point Levi, Isle of Orleans, Beau Port, and other villages. The Americans abandoned their baggage, artillery, stores and other encumbrances. The sick got off as they could, creeping away from the hospitals, many with the small-pox full on them. The Canadians proved kind, secreted and took care of them, till they were able to march off and join their comrades. Sir Guy Carleton did not take more than about 100 prisoners. The king's troops, that had just arrived, were in no condition for a pursuit; but could the whole have followed with vigor, they must have taken or destroyed nearly all the American forces, for they had little ammunition. They retreated forty-five miles before they stopped, having marched almost the whole night. After halting a few days, they proceeded to Sorel, in a condition not to be expressed by words; but had the satisfaction of being joined there by four regiments, that were waiting for them. Here they remained, and were reinforced by the arrival of other battalions. During this period gen. Thomas sickened of the small-pox, and died. Having ordered that the troops should not inoculate, he would not have a recourse to that precaution for his own security. The Americans have lost in him one of their best generals. He was amiable in private and public life. Contented with

1776. with domestic happiness, he was not ambitious of an exalted station; but was ready to serve his country in the most hazardous situation. Gen. Thompson commanded after Thomas sickened, and when the latter died, the command devolved on gen. Sullivan, who had repaired to Canada early in May.

The Americans had for some time posted at the Cedars, a small fort forty-three miles above Montreal, a party of 390 men, under the command of col. Beadle. Capt. Forster, with a detachment of the 8th regiment, about 40, Canadians 100, and 500 Indians, but without cannon, descended from the lakes, and approached toward the fort *. The colonel, in a cowardly manner, abandoned his command to major Butterfield, and repaired to Montreal for a reinforcement. The major having little or no more courage than the other, surrendered the fort without making any resistance worth noticing. Mean while, major Henry Sherburne was detached with 140 men from Montreal; but col. Beadle, valuing safety more than fidelity or honor, refused to return with the reinforcement. It was the day after the surrender before major Sherburne could proceed from the lake (which he was obliged to cross) with 100 men including himself. The rest were left for guards and other services. About noon they set out for the Cedars, distant nine miles. Having marched about five, they were attacked by a body of about 500 Indians and Canadians, who, under cover of a wood, fired upon them. The Americans maintained an obstinate engagement for an hour and forty minutes; when the Indians having surrounded them, rushed upon and disarmed them.

* Journals of Congress, vol. ii. p. 257.

Many of them were sacrificed to Indian fury, butchered with tomahawks and other instruments of death. They lost in the action twenty-eight killed and wounded. About twenty were afterward killed in cold blood; and seven or eight were carried off by the Indians. The prisoners were immediately stripped almost naked, drove to the fort, and delivered to capt. Forster, whose success in taking the fort was not known before the action. The enemy had two and twenty killed, among them a chief warrior of the Seneca tribe, on account of whose death the prisoners were probably treated with the grosser insult and abuse. Arnold, who had been made a brigadier general the beginning of January, had commanded in Montreal some time, having returned thither upon gen. Wooster's going down to Quebec. He was desirous of remedying the evil that had taken place at the Cedars, and went forward with a party of between 8 and 900 men to the lake. When it was discovered that the general was approaching and making dispositions to attack the enemy, capt. Forster took care to acquaint him, that if he would not agree to a proposed cartel, (which major Sherburne and the other officers had been required to sign and had signed) but proceeded to attack him, every man of the prisoners would be put to instant death by the Indians. Gen. Arnold was extremely averse to entering into any agreement, but was at length induced by the motive of saving the prisoners. A cartel was concluded upon and signed on the 27th, for the exchange of 2 majors, 9 captains, 20 subalterns, and 443 foldiers. It was agreed that four American captains should be sent to Quebec as hostages, and remain there until the prisoners are exchanged.

1776.

26.

27.

Let

1776. Let us now direct our attention to Sir Guy Carleton, who had a fresh opportunity of exercising his humanity toward the Americans. That the sick, who were left behind and could not get off when the others fled from before Quebec, might not perish, he issued a proclamation, commanding the proper officers to find out and afford the unhappy persons all necessary relief at the public expence; and to render the benefit complete, and to prevent obstinacy or apprehension from marring its effect, he assured them, that upon recovering they should have free liberty of returning to their respective provinces.

Toward the end of May several regiments arrived; and the British force in Canada, when completed, was estimated at about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was appointed to be at Three Rivers, half way between Quebec and Montreal, about 90 miles from each. The place takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged, through three mouths, into that of St. Lawrence. The British and Brunswick troops were at this time much separated. A considerable body was at Three Rivers under gen. Frazer. Another under gen. Nesbit lay near it on board the transports. A greater than either, with the generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Phillips, and Reidesfel, was in several divisions by land and water, on its way from Quebec. Gen. Sullivan, from the information he received, concluded upon an expedition against, as he apprehended, the British advanced guard at *Three Rivers*, the execution of which was committed to gen. *Thompson*. The latter embarked at Sorel, with 1800 men, under colonels Maxwell, St. Clair and Wayne,

in fifty boats, and coasting the south side of Lake St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence spreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, from whence they fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with an intention of surprising the forces under gen. Frazer. Three Rivers is to be considered rather as a long village, than a regular town. The plan was to land nine miles above the town, so seasonably as to march down under cover of the night, and to attack it a little before day-break. By reason of unexpected delays, it was so long ere the troops landed, that in a few minutes the day light appeared. They had then to make a forced march of nine miles. They hastened, ran down hill and up, and got tired. The general pushed on, having procured a Canadian guide, who was either ignorant or unfaithful; for a little before sun-rise he found his forces were too much out of the way. They returned, but lost the road on the side of the river; were soon however, in view of some of the enemy's boats, between which and the flanking party several balls were exchanged. They then quickened their pace, and continued advancing in sight of the shipping, with drum beating and fife playing, as they knew they were discovered. They soon heard the speaking trumpets sound "land the troops—land the troops." The general judging there was no possibility of passing the ships, without being exposed to all their fire; and yet determining to persist in the expedition, filed off at a right angle from the river. He meant to take a circuitous route, and enter the town on the back side. A bad morass interposed; the troops entered it; they were then about two miles from the town. A worse march, for about a mile and a half, did not offer in all Arnold's expedition, the

June
8.

1776. men were almost mired. About nine o'clock they came to a cleared spot; formed and got into some order about ten. They advanced, but before the rear had got off the place of formation, the front received a heavy fire from the enemy, which struck them with terror. The fire was instantly repeated; and though the balls flew over the heads of the troops, without doing any material execution, they gave way and crowded back in the utmost confusion, which left them without a leader, so that every one did as he pleased. They turned their faces up the river, and hastened through the swamp as fast as possible. About eleven they began to collect, and after a while learnt from the Canadians, that the enemy had sent a detachment, with several field pieces by land, to cut off their retreat, and a party by water to seize their boats. About four they were told, that the enemy had secured the bridge before them, which it was supposed they must pass. They were also soon convinced, that a large body was close in their rear. Col. Maxwell ordered all who had collected together to halt, called the officers to him and said, "What shall we do? Shall we fight those in the front or in the rear? or shall we tamely submit? or shall we turn off into the woods, and each man shift for himself?" The last proposal was preferred; but the enemy was so near, that the rear of the Americans was exposed to another tremendous fire, while going down the hill into the woods, but the balls flew over them without injuring any. The person, who was intrusted with the care of the boats, had removed them in time to a secure place, so that the loss of the Americans, which must otherwise have been much greater, amounted only to about 200 prisoners.

The

The troops that escaped began to collect about ten the 1776.
 next day, and by noon were considerably numerous.
 They got along by degrees, and by sun-set the day fol-
 lowing arrived opposite Sorel. Gen. Thompson and Juno
 col. Irwin, the second in command, with some other 10.
 officers, were taken. The killed and wounded of the
 king's troops was trifling. This attempt to surprise the
 British troops at Three Rivers, which may appear to
 have been a desperate undertaking, would scarce have
 been made, had it been known, in time, how much
 they had been reinforced by fresh arrivals; and proba-
 bly ought to have been abandoned the moment that the
 surprise was no longer possible.

The king's forces having joined at Three Rivers, pro-
 ceeded by land and water to Sorel, off which the fleet 14.
 arrived in the evening, a few hours after the rear of the
 Americans had left it. A considerable body was land-
 ed, and the command of the column given to gen. Bur-
 goyne, with instructions to pursue the continental army
 up the river to St. John's, but without hazarding any
 thing till another column on his right should be able to
 co-operate with him. Sir Guy's extraordinary precau-
 tion in putting nothing to the hazard, when not abso-
 lutely necessary, gave the Americans the opportunity of
 escaping. Had Burgoyne been instructed to press on
 with the utmost expedition, great numbers of them must
 have been made prisoners, and but few would have
 crossed Lake Champlain.

Major Nathan Fuller, of col. Bond's Massachusetts
 regiment, was intrusted with the care of the baggage,
 when the Americans retreated up the Sorel. It was put
 on board several vessels. They had a fine passage for a

1776. while, but at length were becalmed so long as to give the advance of the British an opportunity of approaching them apace. The major acquainted gen. Sullivan, who was considerably a-head, of the dangerous situation he should soon be in. The general sent a hundred batteaus to bring off the men and baggage, and gave orders for burning the vessels. The major had but just time to accomplish the work, and was in some danger before it was finished. Gen. Arnold, with his troops, left Montreal and crossed at Longueil from the island to the continent, on his way to Chamblee. A great part of the British fleet and army failed for the same place, and had not the wind failed, would probably have arrived at Longueil the same night, and about the same time with gen. Arnold. The general carried away with him from Montreal a quantity of goods, which he ordered col. Hazen to take charge of; but the colonel disapproving the measure, would have nothing to do with them. When the troops entered the road near Chamblee, they occasioned such an alarm in the place, that the three companies of artillery formed immediately and marched up the hill to meet them; which brought on a discovery of their belonging to gen. Arnold, and being from Montreal. When the army left Chamblee, the men were obliged to drag their loaded batteaus, to the number of 100 or more, some with cannon in them, up the rapids, by bodily strength and up to the middle in water. Here they destroyed the saw mills, three vessels and three gondolas, together with all the batteaus which they could not bring off. Major Fuller commanded the rear, consisting of 500 men, and had under his care the batteaus and baggage. The British entered Cham-

June
15.

Chamblee at one end, while he quitted it at the other. 1776. When he was about a mile beyond the town, all his party, except seventy, pushed off to escape danger. Soon after you leave Chamblee, in the way to St. John's, the road enters a wood, which thickens as you advance in it. Though the road is open and good, yet the brush wood and trees on each side afford such a cover to parties, that you cannot ascertain their number, nor be sure that there are not ambushes in various places. The major had an active, sensible, bold officer in the second lieutenant, Mr. George *, who remained with him. The lieutenant was ordered, with 27 men, to flank the advancing parties of the enemy. He, by dividing his men, concealing them on each side of the road, employing them in popping with their guns on the enemy, first in one place, then in another; and so changing the scene of their attack, as though they were far more numerous, amused the advance of the enemy in such a manner, as to save the rear. Major Fuller imputes it very much to the conduct of lieut. George, that the rear, and of course the boats and baggage were saved. The salvation of these was probably the salvation of the army. When the major found himself abandoned, he sent forward a messenger to col. Stark and other officers, who were not far before, acquainting them with his situation, and requesting their assistance. Cols. Stark, Poor, Porter and others, immediately put themselves under the command of the major, who had also sent on an express to St. John's, to inform gen. Sullivan of his danger, and the necessity of a speedy reinforcement. The general hastened away 1500 men under col. Bond, who

* Afterward captain George, of Watertown, near Boston.

1776. met the major about half way between the two places, seven miles from Chamblee. The danger being ended by the arrival of the reinforcement, the major left the command to his colonel, and went forward to carry gen. Sullivan the agreeable news of all being safe, which, after the various false distracting reports that had reached him, was received with inconceivable transport. The major lost but two men in the retreat; the loss was occasioned by their getting drunk; but from them the enemy could learn nothing of the major's real condition time enough to take the advantage of it *.

June
18.

General *Burgoyne* arrived at *St. John's* in the evening. The Americans had taken away every thing and set fire to the forts and barracks. Major John Bigelow stayed with about 40 men, till they were destroyed, and at dusk pushed off his boats for *Isle aux Noix*, to which the whole army had repaired. Greater confusion than it had been in during the retreat, is seldom heard of; and yet the loss it sustained is too inconsiderable, to be given in detail, or in sum total. From the *Isle* the army proceeded to *Crown Point*, without any danger from a pursuit—every boat that could be found being destroyed, and every thing done to impede the enemy. The Americans had also the command of *Lake Champlain*; and will continue masters of it, until a number of vessels can be procured to give Sir Guy Carleton a superiority, and enable him to traverse it with safety. Other matters will now demand our attention.

15. The *New Hampshire* representatives voted unanimously, that their delegates at the continental congress be in-

* Major, now col. Fuller, of New town, informed me of the particulars in which he was concerned.

structed to join with the other colonies in declaring the 1776. Thirteen United Colonies, a free and independent state, (not states) &c. provided the regulation of their internal police be under the direction of their own assembly.

It appears by a return of the inhabitants, that the sum total of all the males, females, whites and negroes, amounts to 82,394. The total excess of males is 1131. The males in the continental army are 2488. If of these so many as 1357 survive the service and return, the males and females are equal. In about twenty years the inhabitants will be double the number. "It has been found by calculations, that America has doubled her numbers, even by natural generation alone, upon an average, about once in eighteen years *." The continuance of the war, unless excessively destructive, will make no material difference. "In the French war, which lasted from 1755 to 1763 (during which time the colonies made great exertions, and had in the field a great number of men) it was found that the population had increased nearly as fast as in times of peace †."

One Mugford, who had been a master of some trading vessel, applied to gen. Ward for the command of a continental cruiser which lay unemployed. By his importunity and professions he prevailed, and had an order given him. The captain made all possible expedition, got possession of the vessel, procured powder and ball, and with twenty men pushed immediately into Boston bay. After he was gone from the general, the latter received such a bad character of him, that he sent off an express to recall the order; but it was too late, Mug-

* Letters of Mr. John Adams to Dr. Calkoen, p. 14.

† Letters of Mr. Adams, p. 13.

1776. ford had failed. He was no sooner in the bay, but the ship *Hope* of 270 tons, 4 guns, and 17 men, presented to view. She was last from Corke, and had on board 1500 barrels of powder, beside carbines and bayonets, travelling carriages for heavy cannon, a vast variety of tools, implements and necessaries for the army and artillery. Capt. Mugford in his cruiser of fifty tons and
May 17. four guns ran up to her, and ordered her to strike. The *Hope*, either from the sailors declining to fight, or from other motives, made no resistance. Commodore Banks lay a few miles off with his men of war, and in fight; and his boats might soon have been up with the ship. The captain of the *Hope*, sensible of this advantage, gave orders for the men to cut the top-sail halliards and ties. Mugford heard the orders, and knew the consequence of executing them—that the sailing of the ship would be so long prevented, that the men of war's boats would recover her. He therefore opened with volleys of oaths and execrations; and in the most horrid manner, threatened the captain and every one on board with immediate death if the orders were executed, upon which the captain was so terrified as to desist. When Mugford had taken possession of his prize, he was joined by two other small cruisers, who assisted in carrying her safe through Pulling Point Gut. The inhabitants of Boston, who had been devoutly engaged in keeping the continental fast, had, on leaving their respective places of worship in the afternoon, the peculiar pleasure of seeing the most valuable prize, on account of the powder, taken since the commencement of the war, entering the harbour.

Captain Mugford having secured the Hope, and ^{1776.} meaning to go out again without loss of time, sailed down and came to an anchor in Pulling Point Gut, with the Lady Washington, on Sunday evening. They were attacked, about nine o'clock, by thirteen boats from the men of war at Nantasket. The boats were beaten off, with great loss on the part of the enemy, in the deaths of the brave lieutenant, who commanded, and several of his men: but Mugford, exerting himself heroically, was killed, and was the only person lost on the side of the American cruisers. 19.

The Massachusetts general court for promoting the making of saltpetre, had some time back agreed to take in all that should be made by the first of June at five and three-pence sterling the pound. On the week that closed the period of receiving it, they had purchased in this way 102,635 lb. There are such quantities yet coming in, made before the first of June, that the court passed an order to receive for some time to come, at the said price, all that shall appear to be made before that time.

The harbour of Boston had been left in a defenceless state ever since the evacuation of the town, liable to the intrusions of a small naval force, which might have entered and fired the town, or laid it under contribution. The inhabitants of that and the neighbouring towns, being dissatisfied with its continuing so, concluded upon assisting in erecting a fort upon Noddles Island. In the beginning of May a number of volunteers, both laity and clergy, repaired thither from time to time, and aided in the work till it was finished; while the poorer class were

1776. were rewarded for their labors. Something having been done for the security of the harbour, gen. *Benjamin Lincoln*, while the court was sitting, entertained the thought of driving the British shipping from Nantasket, and planned a scheme for effecting it. They consisted of a fifty gun ship, commanded by commodore Banks, the Milford man of war, the Yankee Hero privateer, taken by the last, and seven large transports lately arrived with highlanders, an armed brig and two schooners. The highlanders were supposed to be at least seven hundred. On Thursday the Bostonians were acquainted by beat of drum, that an expedition was going to be undertaken against the enemy at *Nantasket*. Detachments from colonels Marshall and Witney's regiments, and a battalion of train, commanded by col. Crafts, were embarked at the Long Wharf, together with cannon, ammunition, provisions, &c. and proceeded for Pettick's Island and Hull, where they were joined by more troops and sea-coast companies, so as to make near 600 men at each place. Militia from the towns in the vicinity of Boston harbour, with a detachment from the train and some field pieces, took post on Moon Island, at Hoff's-neck, and at point Alderton. A detachment from the continental army under col. Whitcomb, with two eighteen pounders, and a thirteen inch mortar, &c. were embarked for Long Island, and there took post. The troops did not arrive at the several places of destination till near morning: but when arrived, were active and alert in the highest degree. The cannon were soon planted, and a shot from Long Island announced their design; on which a signal was made for the fleet to get under

June
13.

14.

under way. The commodore bore and returned the American fire with spirit, till a shot from Long Island pierced his upper works, when he got under sail. Several shells were thrown at him, which might hasten his departure.

Thus was free egress and ingress to the harbour for all friendly vessels recovered on that very day, on which, two years before, the sailing of every one of that kind from the port of Boston ceased by virtue of a British act of parliament. This circumstance was not thought of, when the expedition commenced; but was merely accidental, though it could not be overlooked when it had happened. The same day the house of assembly received a letter from the president of the general convention of Virginia, enclosing their resolutions with respect to independency.

Commodore Banks omitting to leave cruisers in the bay, afforded an opportunity to the American privateers of taking a number of highlanders. Three days after his quitting it, the *George* and *Annabella* transports entered, after a passage of seven weeks from Scotland, during the course of which they had not an opportunity of speaking a single vessel, that could give them the smallest information of the British troops having evacuated Boston. They were attacked in the morning by four privateers, with whom they engaged till evening; when the privateers bore away, on which the transports pushed for Boston harbour, not doubting but that they should receive protection, either from a fort or ship of force stationed for the security of British ships. They stood up for Nantasket road, when an American battery opened upon them, which was the first serious proof they

1776. they had of the situation of affairs at the port to which they were destined. They were too far embayed to retreat, as the wind had died away, and the tide of flood was not half expended. The privateers with which they had been engaged, joined by two others, made toward them. They prepared for action. By some misfortune the Annabella got a-ground so far a-stern of the George, that the latter expected but a feeble support from her musketry. About eleven at night the privateers anchored close by, and hailed them to strike the British flag. The mate of the George, and every sailor on board, the captain excepted, refused to fight any longer; but every officer and private of the seventy-first regiment, who were in the ship, stood to their quarters with ready obedience to the lieutenant colonel. On their refusing to strike, the action was renewed, when after a sharp combat of an hour and a half, they had expended every shot belonging to their artillery. They were then obliged to yield, there being no power of escaping, nor the most distant hope of relief. Their killed were eight privates and major Menzies, beside seventeen wounded. The major was buried with the honors of war at Boston. The prisoners experienced the utmost civility and good treatment. A week before the capture of these transports, the Ann, in the same service, was taken and carried into Marblehead, though commodore Banks was then at Nantasket. The number of highlanders taken is two hundred and sixty-seven privates, forty-eight others, beside the honorable Archibald Campbell, lieutenant colonel of the second battalion of the seventy-first regiment.

July 3. On motion in the Massachusetts assembly it was voted unanimously, "that if congress shall think proper to declare

declare the colonies independent, this house will approve of the measure." 1776.

There is no doubt of its being approved by all the colonies: but there has been much manœuvring in order to produce the necessary disposition among the New Yorkers; of which you will form the best idea, from the following letter written the beginning of May from New York, in answer to one of the preceding month from Philadelphia—"Soon after I received your letter, I sent for col. Sears, Mr. John Smith and some others, whom I knew to be stanch, to spend an evening with me, that I might converse with them upon the subject (supposed to be that of taking up government.) It would not do to show your letter, or even hint that I had received it, but an opportunity for introducing the subject soon offered. A captain of my guard came and reported, that the committee of safety had sent some persons to the main guard, who had no complaint lodged against them. I immediately sent to the committee, and they sent a sub-committee to wait upon me. I asked them what charge they had to lay against the prisoners. They informed me, one was a collector who had not accounted for the money he had collected, and had abused their congress. The others were in for different crimes. I told them, that I could by no means consent to have free citizens subjected to trials by court martial. They must try them by proper courts, if such there were; and if not, the offenders must run at large, till necessity obliged them to constitute the proper courts. This opened the door for me, and I took advantage of it. The sub-committee thanked me for my care over the liberties of their fellow citizens, and owned the necessity of

1776. of taking up government. Sears, Smith, &c. were strongly of that opinion, and all went home perfectly satisfied, and without suspecting the conversation was any thing more than accidental. The next day Greene and I were ordered to the jail to see some prisoners of war. There I found some persons in for robbery, and one for murder. As I found I had good success in the beginning, I determined to keep on, and frequently took occasion to mention the great difficulty, which must attend their present state:—that it would be tyrannical to execute those persons without a trial:—to try and execute them, by process in the name of a king, with whom we were at war, would be absurd:—and if neither of these methods were taken, they must, whether guilty or not, suffer perpetual imprisonment. The argument took effect; and even tories themselves acknowledged it was best to take up government, till reconciliation should take place. This doctrine pleased me well; for *I knew if government was once assumed upon whatever motives, they would find that the Rubicon was passed, and that they could never return to their ancient form.* I then, by the advice of my privy council, drew up a piece purporting a petition to the committee of safety, to request leave from the continental congress to take up government. This piece I enclose you, and though badly wrote, it steers so directly between whiggism and toryism, that no person can tell whether it was drawn by a whig or tory. My privy council informed me, that it had the desired effect; the whigs were fond of it, because if it took effect, their point was carried, and no retreat could ever take place; the tories were fond of it, because it held up the d—d reconciliation they were seeking after. Being well

well informed of my success, I thought it time to sound ^{1776.}
 our colonel (thought to be M'Dougall.) I sent for him.
 We conversed freely upon the matter of taking up go-
 vernment. He owned the necessity of it, and said it
 would be carried into execution at all events, at the
 meeting of their convention. He informed me, that
 almost every person began to see the necessity; and that
 the instructions, then drawing up for their delegates,
 mentioned nothing about effecting a reconciliation, but
 to protect and defend America. When I found him in
 the true way to happiness, I dismissed him, and attacked
 others;—to tories I painted the evils attending their
 present state;—to whigs I held up the advantage of
 seizing the precious moment. I soon found my party
 increase with surprising rapidity."

Within seven days after this letter was sent to Phila- ^{May}
 delphia, congress resolved, " That it be recommended ^{19.}
 to the respective assemblies and conventions of the united
 colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies
 of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt
 such government as shall in the opinion of the represen-
 tatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and
 safety of their constituents in particular, and America
 in general." The following preamble was prepared and
 agreed to, five days after, " Whereas his Britannic ma-
 jesty, in conjunction with the lords and commons of ^{15.}
 Great Britain has, by a late act of parliament, excluded
 the inhabitants of these united colonies from the pro-
 tection of his crown; and whereas no answer whatever
 to the humble petitions of the colonies for redress of
 grievances and reconciliation with Great Britain has been
 or is likely to be given, but the whole force of that
 3 kingdom,

1776. kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these colonies; and whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience, for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain, and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority, under the said crown, should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties and properties against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies, therefore resolved," &c. as above.

May 18. The secret committee was ordered to endeavour to discover the design of the French in assembling so large a fleet, and so great a number of troops in the West Indies, and whether they mean to act for or against America. By this it appears that the congress have no assurance or certainty of support from France.

Corporal Cruz, the rifleman, who was carried to England and discharged by the mayor, is arrived with dispatches from Arthur Lee esq; containing intelligence of the whole naval and land force intended for the attack of the united colonies, and of the places for which they were destined. He got a passage to Halifax; from whence he made his escape to Boston; and then went on to head quarters at New York. Soon after, congress resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to confer with generals Washington, Gates, and Mifflin, upon the most speedy and effectual means for supporting the

American

American cause in Canada. It was the opinion of the 1776. generals, that it would be impossible to keep the Indians in a state of neutrality; that they would undoubtedly take an active part, either for or against the Americans; and that it would be best immediately to engage them on their side, and to use their utmost endeavours, to prevent their minds being poisoned by ministerial emissaries. When the committee brought in their report, it May was resolved among other things, “ That it is highly 25- expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the united colonies.”

Upon the first intelligence received at Philadelphia of the troops to be employed against the Americans, a citizen of eminence wrote to his correspondent, “ We now know who the commissioners are, and their numbers, viz. Messrs. the Hessians, Brunswickers, Waldeckers, English, Scotch and Irish. This gives the coup de grace to the British and American connection. It has already wrought wonders in this city: conversions have been more rapid than ever under Mr. Whitefield. The Pennsylvania farmer (Dickinson) told me yesterday in the field—that his sentiments were changed—he had been desirous of keeping the door open as long as possible, and was now convinced, that nothing was to be expected from our enemies but slavery.”

The detaching of the ten strongest regiments to Canada, made the most strenuous exertions necessary for getting New York into a proper state of defence. Congress therefore authorized gen. *Washington* to direct the building of as many fire rafts, row galleys, armed boats and floating batteries, as might be judged requisite for the immediate defence of that port and of Hudson's

1775. river. They afterward resolved, that 13,800 militia be
 June employed to reinforce the army; and that a flying camp
 3. be immediately established in the middle colonies, to consist of 10,000 men. They did not overlook Canada, but on the same day agreed, that the general should be empowered to employ in that province a number of Indians, not exceeding two thousand: and, two days after, ordered that the standing committee for Indian affairs do devise ways and means for carrying the same into effect. Within four and twenty hours after, they complimented the earl of Effingham, for the singularly noble part he had acted, by naming one of their frigates, now building, the Effingham. The names of the rest are, the Congress, Randolph, Hancock, Washington, Trumbull, Raleigh, Montgomery, Warren, Boston, Virginia, Providence and Delaware.

7. Certain resolutions respecting *independency* were moved and seconded, on the 7th of June, and the consideration of them referred till the next day. *Richard Henry Lee* esq; one of the Virginia delegates, had given notice to congress, that on that day he should move for a declaration of independence: he accordingly made the motion. Various occurrences had contributed to ripen the colonies for the measure; several of which have been occasionally mentioned: others remain to be noticed. The North Carolinians were at one time violent against a separation from Great Britain; a delegate in their convention mentioning independence, the cry was—treason—treason; and he was called to order: but they have been wearied out by the proceedings of the British ministry, and the methods pursued and countenanced by gov. Martin: so that all regard and fondness for the king

king and nation of Great Britain has subsided, and independence has become the word most in use among them. They ask, "Is it possible that any colony, after what has passed, can wish for reconciliation?" The constant publications, which have appeared and been read with attention, have greatly promoted the spirit of independency: but no one so much as the pamphlet under the signature of *Common Sense*, written by Mr. *Thomas Paine*, an Englishman. The style, manner, and language of the author is singular and captivating. He undertakes to prove the necessity, the advantages, and practicability of independence. That no lurking affection for the sovereign may impede it, kings are placed in a light, that tends not only to destroy all attachment to them, but to make them distasteful: their very office is attempted to be rendered odious; from whence the transition to the royal person is easy. Nothing could have been better timed than this performance. In unison with the sentiments and feelings of the people, it has produced most astonishing effects; and been received with vast applause; read by almost every American; and recommended as a work replete with truth, and against which none but the partial and prejudiced can form any objections. It has satisfied multitudes, that it is their true interest immediately to cut the Gordian knot by which the American colonies have been bound to Great Britain, and to open their commerce, as an independent people, to all the nations of the world. It has been greatly instrumental in producing a similarity of sentiment through the continent, upon the subject under the consideration of congress. On the 10th, the business was postponed to the 1st of July; but that no time might

1776. be lost, the next day Messrs. Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and R. R. Livingston, were appointed a committee to prepare a declaration of independence. Directly upon which, congress resolved, "That a committee be appointed to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these colonies: and that a committee be appointed to prepare a plan of treaties to be proposed to foreign powers."

Let us pass for awhile to other matters.

June
17.

Congress resolved to send major general *Gates* into Canada, to take the command of the forces in that province: but before the latter could reach them, they were at Crown Point; this however could not be known by congress. They concluded upon authorizing gen. Washington to offer the Indians a reward of a hundred dollars for every commissioned officer, and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the king's troops, that they should take prisoners in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of the united colonies. The general's army is surrounded by a great number of secret foes, who, he is persuaded, will stick at nothing to effect their purposes of destroying it. They had laid a deep scheme for doing it, which was prosecuted with the utmost vigilance, but has been happily discovered. The general has full proof as to their intentions against the army; but is not so clear, whether there was any thing personal designed against himself. That reliance however, which he has on the protection of an all-wise and beneficent Being, has secured him at least against the fear of it; and will prevent any change in his conduct from taking place

place through apprehension*. Two of the general's guard were concerned; a third, it is said, whom they tempted to join them, made the discovery. Several were taken into custody; and among them the mayor of New York, who confessed the bringing of money from gov. Tryon to pay for rifles made by a gunsmith, now in irons. The mayor, after being twice examined, was remanded to prison under a proper guard. 23.

This affair produced a change in the politics of *New Jersey*. That colony, it was thought, would be among the last to alter its government, whereas it will now be among the first that gets a settled constitution. Nothing more than a bare majority in favor of the alteration, was expected in the provincial congress: but the plot against the general wrought wonders: there were but four dissenting voices. On the 21st, however, before they could know the plot as a body, they proceeded to elect delegates for the continental congress, whom they empowered to join in declaring the united colonies independent of Great Britain. In this election they left out William Livingston esq; under a strong persuasion that he was not favorable to independency; and chose the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, the president of the college at Princeton, from a conviction that he would support it with all his abilities.

Gen. *Howe* arrived at *Sandy Hook* in the *Greyhound* frigate. He soon received from gov. Tryon a full account of the state and disposition of the province, as well as of the strength of the Americans. Gen. *Washington's* army was small, rather below 9000 fit for duty. Of this little army, he wrote, "at least 2000 are wholly 25.

* The general's letter to me.

1776. destitute of arms, and near as many with arms in such condition as to be rather calculated to discourage than animate the user." The same day, the British fleet arrived with gen. Howe's troops from Halifax. They took possession of Staten Island, July the 2d. On the July 4th, the American adjutant general, col. Joseph Reed, wrote to a member of congress, "With an army of force before, and a secret one behind, we stand on a point of land with 6000 old troops, (if a year's service of about half, can entitle them to the name) and about 1500 new levies of this province, many disaffected and more doubtful. In this situation we are: every man in the army, from the general to the private (acquainted with our true situation) is exceedingly discouraged. *Had I known the true posture of affairs, no consideration would have tempted me to have taken an active part of this scene; and this sentiment is universal.*" Gen. Howe is sufficiently strong, considering the goodness of his troops, to make a successful attempt upon the Americans; but being in daily expectation of the reinforcement from Europe, he will undoubtedly remain inactive till their arrival.

This then is a proper opportunity for relating the operations in South Carolina.

The designs of ministry against the southern colonies were providentially discovered, before the arrival of Sir *Peter Parker*. In the beginning of April capt. James Barron arrived at Williamsburgh, with dispatches from the secretary of state for gov. Pden of Maryland, which he took from on board a small vessel sent by lord Dunmore to carry them to Annapolis. The secretary's letter is dated Whitehall, Dec. 23, 1775, and says,

"SIR,

“ SIR,

1776.

“ An armament of seven regiments, with a fleet of frigates and small ships, is now in readiness to proceed to the southern colonies, in order to attempt the restoration of legal government in that part of America. It will proceed in the first place to North Carolina, and from thence either to South Carolina or Virginia, as circumstances shall point out.” This discovery is ranked, by the American commander in chief, among many other signal interpositions of Providence, and as serving to inspire every reflecting mind with confidence. No one professes “ a more perfect reliance on the all-wise and powerful dispensations of the supreme Being, or thinks his aid more necessary.”

The *Ann* and *Isabella* arrived at Cape Fear with part April of the 17th regiment; she was the first vessel of Sir 18.
Peter Parker's fleet. From her arrival to the second of May, thirteen transports got in. On the third, Sir *Peter* May and twenty sail arrived with lord *Cornwallis*, gen. *Vaughan* 3.
and others: when they met with gen. *Clinton*, who, after leaving New York, proceeded to Virginia, where he saw lord *Dunmore*; but finding that no service could be effected in that colony, he repaired to Cape Fear river, and waited the arrival of the armament from Europe. Gen. *Clinton* issued out a proclamation from on board 5.
the *Pallas* transport, offering free pardon to all such as should lay down their arms, &c. excepting *Cornelius Harnett* and *Robert Howe*. The defeat of the highlanders and regulators in February, and the measures afterward taken for the safety of the colony, diverted the commanders from attempting any thing against it; and led them to conclude upon attacking *Charlestown*,
T 4 which

1776. which they were in full expectation of subduing, as they had about 2800 land forces to co-operate with the men of war. Prior to their arrival and junction, every exertion had been made to put the colony of *South Carolina*, and especially its capital, in a respectable posture of defence. As one mean conducing to it, works were erected on *Sullivan's* island, situated so near the channel as to be a very convenient post for annoying ships approaching the town; and about thirty cannon, 32, 18 and 9 pounders, were mounted on a fort constructed with palmetto. This is a tree peculiar to the southern states, which grows from twenty to forty feet high without branches, and then terminates in something resembling the head of a cabbage. The wood is remarkably spongy. A bullet entering it makes no extended fracture, but buries itself without injuring the parts adjacent.

June 1. On the first of June, advices were received in Charlestown, that a fleet of forty or fifty sail was at anchor about six leagues to the northward of *Sullivan's* island. The next day the alarm signal was fired, and expresses sent to the officers commanding the militia in the country, to repair to the immediate defence of the capital with the forces under their respective commands. In a few days several hundred of the enemy's troops were landed on Long Island, situated to the eastward of *Sullivan's*, and separated from it by a creek. On the 10th the *Bristol*, a 50 gun ship, her guns being previously taken out, got safe over the bar. About this time a proclamation was sent ashore, in which gen. Clinton promised pardon to the inhabitants, upon their laying down their arms, and quietly submitting to the re-establishment of royal government. It produced none of the

the effects wished from it. The militia of the country 1776. very generally obeyed the summons of president Rutledge, and repaired in great numbers to the capital. The regular regiments of the adjacent northern colonies, having been ordered to the assistance of their southern neighbours, arrived at this critical juncture. The whole were commanded by gen. Lee, who had been sent to the southward on gen. Clinton's leaving the Hook. The great opinion, every where entertained of his ability and experience, added to the spirits of the troops and inhabitants. In a few days the Americans, including the militia of the town and country, amounted to five or six thousand men. The first South Carolina regular regiment, commanded by col. Gadsden, was stationed at fort Johnson, on the most northerly point of James Island, and within point blank shot of the channel. The second and third regular regiments of the colony, commanded by cols. *Moultrie* and *Thompson*, occupied the two extremities of Sullivan's Island. The other forces had their posts assigned them at Haddrell's Point, James Island, and along the bay in front of the town. The streets near the water were in different places strongly barricaded. The stores on the wharfs, though immensely valuable, were pulled down, and lines of defence continued along the water's edge. Domestic conveniencies were exchanged for blankets and knapsacks, and gentlemen of the most independent fortune labored with the hoe and the spade in their hands. Gov. *Rutledge*, fore against his will, was obliged to adopt some absolute measures for the defence of the place. He pressed 700 negroes with tools, &c. belonging to non-associators, to work upon the fortifications and trenches; and
seized

1776. seized for the present, the cash and papers of many associators, in name only, to prevent their doing mischief, as they hung back in the hour of trial. In a few days, by the labor of the citizens, in conjunction with the negroes, such obstructions were thrown in the way as would have greatly embarrassed the royal army, had it attempted landing in the town. The Experiment of 50 guns safely crossed the bar, after taking similar precautions with the Bristol.

June
20.

28.

The fort on Sullivan's island is now to be attacked by the two 50 gun ships, the Bristol and Experiment—four frigates, the Active, Acteon, Solebay and Syren, each of 28 guns—the Sphynx of 20 guns, the Friendship armed vessel of 22 guns, the Ranger sloop and Thunder bomb each of eight guns. The Thunder bomb, covered by the armed ship, takes her station in the morning, and begins to throw shells, between the hours of ten and eleven. The Active, Bristol, Experiment and Solebay come boldly on to the attack. A little before eleven, the garrison fires four or five shot at the Active while under sail. When she comes near the fort, she drops anchor, and pours in a broadside. Her example is followed by the three other vessels, and a most furious and incessant cannonade ensues. The Sphynx, Acteon and Syren are ordered to take their station between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly to enfilade the works of the fort, partly to cut off the communication between the island and the continent, and partly to prevent any attempts that may be made to interrupt the grand attack. The western extremity of the fort, off which they are to be stationed, is so unfinished as to afford very imperfect cover to the men at the guns in

that

that part, and also so situated as to expose the men in 1776.
the other parts of the fort to a very dangerous cross fire.
Providence on this occasion remarkably interposes in
behalf of the garrison, and saves them from a fate, that
undoubtedly would otherwise be inevitable. About
twelve o'clock, as the three last-mentioned ships are ad-
vancing, they all get entangled with a shoal called the
Middle Ground; two of them run foul of each other.
The *Acteon* sticks fast. The *Sphinx*, before she clears
herself, loses her bowsprit; but the *Syren* gets off
without much injury. They are too late however, or
in no condition for executing the intended service. The
Thunder bomb, after having thrown about 60 shells, is
so damaged as to be incapable of firing longer. While
the continued fire from the ships seems sufficient to
shake the bravest enemy, and daunt the courage of the
most veteran soldier, the return made from the fort calls
for the respect of the brave British seamen, though highly
incommoded by it. The garrison, which consists of
Col. Moultrie, 344 regulars, and a few volunteer militia,
nearly all raw and unexperienced, stick to their guns with
the greatest constancy and firmness, amidst a most dread-
ful roar of artillery. They fire deliberately and slowly,
and take a cool and effective aim. The ships suffer
accordingly. They are torn almost to pieces, and the
laughter is dreadful. Never did British valor shine
more conspicuous, nor ever did their marine experience
so rough an encounter, in an engagement of the same
nature with any foreign enemy. The springs of the
Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she is for some
time most dreadfully raked by the Americans. Capt.
Morris, who commands her, though he has received a
number

1776. number of wounds, disdains quitting his duty, till his arm being at length shot off, he is carried away in circumstances that afford no possibility of recovery. Sir Peter Parker suffers a slight contusion. Every man stationed in the beginning of the action on the quarter deck of the Bristol, is either killed or wounded. In the whole she has 40 men killed and 71 wounded. The Experiment has 23 killed and 76 wounded. Capt. Scott, who commands her, loses his arm and receives many other wounds. Lord Campbell, the late governor of the colony, who serves as a volunteer, with the greatest spirit and bravery, and is so condescending as to accept of the direction of some guns on the lower gun deck, receives a hurt in his left side, which may finally prove mortal *. The fire of the fort is principally directed against the Bristol and Experiment, which suffer very much in their hulls, masts and rigging. Not less than 70 balls go through the former. The Acteon has a lieutenant killed and six men wounded. The Solebay has eight men wounded. The loss of the garrison is only 10 men killed and 22 wounded.

The guns of the fort were at one time so long silenced, that it was thought to have been abandoned. When the garrison had received a recruit of powder, the expenditure of their stock having obliged them to cease firing, they began it again, and did amazing execution by its excessive severity. During the long, hot and obstinate conflict between the American fort and the British men of war, the seamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eastward, expecting to see the land forces, under gen. Clinton and lord Cornwallis, advance from

* It at length occasioned his death.

Long Island, and march up to second their attack ; but ^{1776.} in this they were disappointed. Though the creek between that island and Sullivan's is easily fordable in general, yet at that time, through a long series of easterly winds it was uncommonly deep, and impassable at the usual place of passage. The British troops might have crossed higher up ; but then they must have been exposed so completely and so long to the American fire, that they would have run the greatest risk of being defeated. Col. Thompson, with 300 riflemen of his regiment ; col. Clark, with 200 regulars of the North Carolina line ; col. Horry, with 200 South Carolina militia, and the Racoon company of militia riflemen, with an eighteen pounder and a field piece, were stationed at the east end of Sullivan's Island to oppose their crossing.

The British fire was kept up without intermission till near seven o'clock, when it slackened considerably. At half past nine, the firing on both sides ceased, and at eleven the shattered ships slipped their cables, and withdrew from the scene of action, after an engagement which had been supported with uncommon courage and vigor, on both sides, for above ten hours. Next morning, all the men of war, except the *Acteon*, had retired about two miles from the island. The garrison fired several shot at her ; she at first returned them, but soon after the crew set her on fire and abandoned her, leaving the colours flying, the guns loaded, and all her ammunition and stores behind. She was in a short time boarded by a party of Americans, who brought off her colours, the ship's bell, and as many sails and stores as three boats could contain. While the flames were bursting out on all sides, they fired three of her guns at the
com-

1776. commodore, and then quitted her; and in less than half an hour after she blew up.

There were many thousand shot fired at the fort from the shipping; but the works suffered little damage: those which struck the fort were buried in its fort wood. Hardly a hut or tree on the island escaped. Seven thousand balls have been picked up since the engagement.

When the British fleet appeared off the coast, there was so scanty a stock of lead, that to supply the musketry with bullets, it became necessary to strip the windows of the dwelling houses in Charlestown of their weights. Powder also was very scarce, notwithstanding a seasonable supply received a few days before the engagement. The proportion allotted for the defence of the fort was but barely enough for slow firing. It was expended with great deliberation. The officers, in turn, pointed the guns with such exactness, that most of their shot took effect on the shipping. In the beginning of the action the flag-staff was shot away. Sergeant Jasper of the grenadiers immediately jumped on the beach, took up the flag, and fastened it on a sponge-staff. He mounted the merlon with it in his hand; and though the ships were directing their incessant broad sides at the spot, deliberately fixed it. The day after the action, gov. Rutledge presented the sergeant with a sword, as a mark of respect for his distinguished valor. Seven of the wounded of the garrison lost their limbs; but not with these their spirits; for they enthusiastically encouraged their comrades, never to abandon the standard of liberty and their country*.

* General Lee's letter to Congress.

This was particularly noticed of sergeant M'Donald, 1776. who being mortally wounded by a cannon ball, employed the interval between the wounding and his death, in exhortations to that purpose. He expired in a few minutes, when Jasper removed the body out of sight, calling out at the same instant, "revenge the brave man's death."

Charlestown has certainly had a narrow escape. Gen. Lee wrote to the board of war July the second, "For the want of cavalry, Charlestown and its dependencies had certainly been lost, if the enemy had acted with that vigor and expedition we had reason to expect, but a most unaccountable languor and inertness on their parts have saved us." The unfinished state of the fort, the danger of its being enfiladed, and the difficulty of a retreat for want of a durable communication between the island and the main by a bridge, led the general to view the fort rather as untenable, and to incline to the abandoning of it: but when he found that col. Moultrie was determined at all adventures to attempt its defence, he satisfied himself with advising to a seasonable evacuation, and against risking too much in its support. The colonel and his garrison have deserved the praises and thanks of their country, and will undoubtedly meet with due honor.

Some think there was a capital mistake on the part of the British commanders in stopping at the fort, when Charlestown was the object; and that the fleet should have passed the island, in order to their attacking the town, which, with a leading wind and tide, might have been done with a tenth part of the loss and damage that the ships have sustained. But had they passed the fort,
a suc-

1776. a successful attack upon the town was not a necessary consequence. The very attack of the fort would have been successful, had the *Aciton* got safe to her station, instead of running aground.

The fate of this expedition will contribute greatly to establish the popular government it was intended to overthrow: while the news of it will fly like a meteor through the continent, and carry with it a most malignant influence on the royal cause. Sir Peter Parker will most probably sail soon, with the fleet and troops, for the Hook, in order to join lord Howe.

Now let us resume the momentous business of independence.

The *Pennsylvania* assembly withdrew from its union with congress, in consequence of instructions to their delegates, upon the congressional resolve of May the 15th, for suppressing all authority derived from the crown of Great Britain in the united colonies. The committee of the city and liberties of *Philadelphia* apprehended, that by this step an appeal was made to the people; and in compliance with the request of a large majority of the inhabitants, issued letters on the 20th of May (by virtue of a power given to them in the provincial convention held in January 1775) for calling a conference of the committees of the counties, in order to collect the sense of the inhabitants upon the aforesaid resolve of congress, and to bring about a re-union of the provinces with the other colonies, by calling a provincial convention, with a view to form a government for that purpose. They intimated their belief, that the assembly had been dragged into a compliance with most of the resolutions of congress from the fear of a provincial convention. Messrs. John Bayard and Daniel Roberdeau were particularly active in

in this business. The deputies of the people assembled in full provincial conference, and unanimously declared their willingness to concur in a vote of congress, declaring the united colonies free and independent states. A change in their delegates followed. Mr. Dickinson opposed openly, and upon principle, the declaration of independence, and was therefore removed.

The *Maryland* convention had instructed their delegates, last December, to oppose the question of independency. These therefore, having given their vote against it, withdrew; not from a personal opposition, but in compliance with their public representation. Mr. Samuel Chase was strongly attached to it; and when he was returned to Maryland, procured county instructions to the members of convention, by which the last were induced to alter their own instructions. He transmitted an account of it to his friend in congress, in the following terms,—“Annapolis, June 28. Friday evening, nine o'clock. I am this moment from the house to procure an express to follow the post, with an unanimous vote of our convention for *independence*, &c. See the glorious effects of county instructions. Our people have fire, if not smothered. S. Chase.”

Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole upon the subject of independency: but neither colonies nor members being unanimous, it was postponed till the next day. They had it under further consideration, when the declaration of independence was agreed to and adopted. The title of it is,

A DECLARATION by the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA in congress assembled.

1776. The preamble follows in these words: " When, in
 " the course of human events, it becomes necessary for
 " one people to dissolve the political bands which have
 " connected them with another, and to assume, among
 " the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station
 " to which the laws of nature and of nature's God en-
 " title them, a decent respect to the opinions of man-
 " kind requires that they should declare the causes which
 " impel them to the separation.

" We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all
 " men are created equal; that they are endowed by
 " their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that
 " among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happi-
 " ness:—That to secure these rights, governments are
 " instituted among men, deriving their just powers from
 " the consent of the governed; that whenever any form
 " of government becomes destructive of these ends, it
 " is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and
 " to institute new government, laying its foundation on
 " such principles, and organizing its powers in such form
 " as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety
 " and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that
 " governments long established, should not be changed
 " for light and transient causes; and accordingly all ex-
 " perience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed
 " to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right
 " themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are
 " accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and
 " usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object
 " evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despo-
 " tism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off
 " such government, and to provide new guards for their
 " future

“ future security. Such has been the patient sufferance ^{1776.}
 “ of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which
 “ constrains them to alter their former systems of go-
 “ vernment.” The declaration proceeds to give “ a
 “ history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having
 “ in direct object the establishment of an absolute ty-
 “ ranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be
 “ submitted to a candid world.” It then enters upon a
 specification of injuries, and complains to the follow-
 ing purport—

Assent has been refused to laws the most wholesome
 and necessary for the public good.

Governors have been forbidden to pass laws of imme-
 diate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their
 operation till assented to in Britain; and when so sus-
 pended, an attention to them has been utterly neglected.

Legislative bodies have been called together at places
 unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository
 of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing
 them into a compliance with favorite measures.

Houses of representatives have been dissolved repeat-
 edly, for opposing with manly firmness, invasions on the
 rights of the people.

For a long time after such dissolution, it has been re-
 fused to permit others to be elected; whereby the legisla-
 tive powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to
 the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining
 in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion
 from without, and convulsions within.

Endeavours have been made to prevent the population
 of these states, by obstructing the laws for naturalization
 of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their
 migrations

1776. migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

The administration of justice has been obstructed by the refusing of assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

Judges have been made dependent on the crown alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

A multitude of new offices have been erected, and swarms of officers been sent hither to harass the people, and eat out their substance.

Standing armies have been kept up among us in times of peace, without the consent of our legislatures.

The military has been rendered independent of, and superior to the civil power.

A plan has been formed to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws.

Acts have been passed by the British legislature, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;—For protecting them by a mock trial, from punishments for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;—For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;—For imposing taxes on us without our consent;—For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;—For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;—For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;—For taking away our
charters,

charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering ^{1776.} fundamentally the forms of our governments ;—For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring the British parliament invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

The crown of Great Britain has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of its protection, and waging war against us.

Our seas have been plundered, our coasts ravaged, our towns burnt, and the lives of our people destroyed.

Large armies of foreign mercenaries are at this time transporting, to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy a civilized nation.

Our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, have been constrained to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

Domestic insurrections have been excited amongst us, and endeavours have been used to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions.—The declaration proceeds, saying,

“ In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have

U 3

“ reminded

1776. " reminded them of the circumstances of our emigra-
 " tion and settlement here. We have appealed to their
 " native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured
 " them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow
 " these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt
 " our connections and correspondence. They too have
 " been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity.
 " We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which
 " denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold
 " the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.
 " We, therefore, the representatives of the United States
 " of America, in General Congress assembled, appeal-
 " ing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the recti-
 " tude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the
 " authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly
 " publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and
 " of right ought to be, **FREE AND INDEPENDENT**
 " **STATES**; that they are absolved from all allegiance
 " to the British crown; and that all political connection
 " between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and
 " ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and
 " Independent States, they have full power to levy war,
 " conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce,
 " and to do all other acts and things which Independent
 " States may of right do. And for the support of this
 " declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of
 " **DIVINE PROVIDENCE**, we mutually pledge to
 " each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The declaration was by order of congress engrossed and signed by the following members, *JOHN HANCOCK—*
NEW HAMPSHIRE, Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple,
Matthew Thornton:—MASSACHUSETTS - BAY, Samuel
Adams,

Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry: 1776.

—RHODE ISLAND and PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, *Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery:—CONNECTICUT, Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott:—NEW YORK, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris:—NEW JERSEY, Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark:—PENNSYLVANIA, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross:—DELAWARE, Caesar Rodney, George Read:—MARYLAND, Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton:—VIRGINIA, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, jun. Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton:—NORTH-CAROLINA, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn:—SOUTH-CAROLINA, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, jun. Thomas Lynch, jun. Arthur Middleton:—GEORGIA, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.*

The declaration of congress is intended for their act of separation from the crown of Great Britain: they therefore no longer regard that prudential state maxim, *the king can do no wrong* in his official character; but, in making their complaints, charge the specified grievances to majesty itself; by which they mean to justify, in the sight of mankind, the renunciation of their former allegiance. Thus has an event been produced, which was not had in contemplation by any of the colonies, or even by any delegate, scarce by Mr. Samuel Adams, as what was so soon to happen, when congress first met in the year 1774. When Lexington engagement had taken place, he and some of his colleagues judged that the

1776. contest must then issue in independence, or slavery; and therefore labored to establish the first, that the last might be prevented. But had a serious proposal of separating from the crown of Great Britain been early introduced into congress, the dissolution of that body would have followed, through the general aversion of the people at large and of particular colonies to such separation. The Massachusetts delegates had a very nice part to act. The southern colonies were jealous of their republican spirit, and of their aiming at independency. These therefore, by a most prudent policy, secured those of the Virginia delegates that verged toward republicanism, with whom they intrusted any favorite measure which they wanted to have carried; and who brought the same forward and supported it in congress, against the other southern delegates, while their Massachusetts brethren attended the debates without showing themselves particularly interested, so that the jealousies of such as were most against it were not alarmed. They took occasion also, from the various occurrences that offered, gently to infuse their own sentiments into the minds of such as had before opposed them. Their wise procedure aided, on the one hand by certain trusty friends in congress, and on the other by the persevering blundering politics of the British ministry, have under the direction of Providence produced Independency. It remains to be seen whether Providence will give to the same an abiding establishment. The measure which congress have adopted, may be deemed by some presumptuous, considering the weakness of their own army;—the strength of the British, assisted by a powerful navy;—and that they have not the least assurance of aid from any foreign power. But
how

how could it have been avoided? The people were ripe 1776.
for it. Prudence dictated a compliance with their expectations and wishes. A disappointment might have disgusted, and produced disorder. The declaration may give confidence to the timid; and animate the friends of liberty to greater exertions. It may lead France to think that the Americans have resources more than are known, and so incline her to entertain the thought of giving them assistance: while it admits of their applying for the same, with perfect consistency as an independent people. They have nothing worse to apprehend from the declaration than before. The force destined to act against them proves, that, if possible, they are to be reduced to unconditional submission; the declaration cannot add to the misery of such submission. Beside, the quarrel is in such a stage, that it cannot be ended with safety to the inhabitants, but by their separating from Great Britain, and becoming independent: any thing short of that must now prove a continual source of dissension and wretchedness. The members of congress have had it for some time rung in their ears,

“ The middle way, the best, we sometime call,

“ But 'tis in politics no way at all.”

This day at twelve o'clock, the declaration of inde- July
pendence was proclaimed at the state house Philadel- 8.
phia, amidst the greatest acclamations. The next day, 9.
in consequence of general orders, it was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army at New York, and every where received with loud huzzas, and the utmost demonstrations of joy. The same evening the equestrian statue of the king was laid prostrate on the ground. The lead of which it is made, is doomed to
be

1776. be run into bullets. The New York congress have unanimously resolved, that they will at the risk of their lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting the declaration; and have authorized their delegates to adopt all such measures as may be conducive to the happiness of the United States.

The New Jersey convention having declared their late governor, William Franklin esq; a virulent enemy to the country, and a person who may prove dangerous, and who ought to be confined in such place and manner as congress may direct; congress have ordered him to be sent under guard to governor Trumbull of Connecticut, who is to admit him to his parole; but if he refuses to give it, he is to be secured the same as other prisoners. Matters are drawing on to such a crisis, that the next letter must necessarily contain very interesting intelligence.

L E T T E R VI.

Roxbury, Sept. 16, 1776.

Aug. 14. **L**ORD *Dunmore* has at length quitted Virginia and joined the British forces. He arrived with lord *Campbell* and Sir *Peter Parker* off *Staten Island*. His lordship continued on the coasts, and in the rivers of Virginia, till the closeness and filth of the small vessels, in

in which the fugitives were crowded, together with the heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of water and provisions, produced the pestilential fever, which made great havock, especially among the negroes, many of whom were swept away. When at length every place was shut against him, and neither water nor provisions were to be obtained, but at the expence of blood, it was found necessary, toward the beginning of August, to burn several of the smaller and least valuable vessels, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Americans, and to send the remainder, amounting to between forty and fifty, with the exiled friends of government, to seek shelter in Florida, Bermudas, and the West Indies; a great number of negroes were sent at the same time to the last of these places for sale. The Virginians lost about 1000 of them in the whole, including those who were killed or died while attached to his lordship's service. Thus have ended the hopes entertained of suppressing the opposition to government in Virginia by employing the negroes—a measure which being rather invidious than powerful, tended infinitely to inflame the discontents of the people without adding to the strength of the royal arms. The *New Jersey* congress were so irritated by the plot for destroying the American army, that they used the utmost dispatch in forming their constitution, and finished it by the second of July.

July
2.

Though they knew that the subject of independence was before the continental congress, and that these were upon the point of declaring the United Colonies independent: and though they had empowered their own delegates to join in the declaration, yet that not being made at the time, they closed with saying, “ provided
always,

1776. always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this congress, that if a reconciliation between Great Britain and these colonies should take place, and the latter be taken again under the protection and government of the crown of Britain, this charter shall be null and void, otherwise to remain firm and inviolable."

The New Jersey legislature, in the following September, chose William Livingston esq; a gentleman of the law and of first-rate abilities, to be their governor. There was an equal number of votes for him and Mr. Stockton; but the latter having just at the moment, refused to furnish his team or horses for the service of the public, and the legislature coming to the knowledge of it, the choice of Mr. Livingston took place immediately.

July
5.

The general convention of *Virginia* agreed upon a constitution. They began their session the fifth of May, and ten days after, when there were present 112 members, resolved unanimously, that their delegates should be instructed to propose to congress, that the United Colonies be by that respectable body declared free and independent states. It might be from a full confidence of receiving such instructions, that Mr. R. Henry Lee gave notice, that he should move for a declaration of independence. One gentleman of eminence, who was employed in the great work of planning the constitution, made it his incessant study so to frame the portrait of government, that a kindred with New England might be discerned in it.

Let us now repair to *New York*, and the neighbourhood.

Lord

Lord *Howe* arrived off Halifax toward the end of 1776. June; upon learning that the fleet and army had left that port on the 10th, and receiving the letter which the general his brother had left for him, he proceeded to New York without coming to an anchor, and reached Staten Island by the 12th of July; from whence he 12. sent ashore by a flag to Amboy, a circular letter, together with a declaration to several of the late governors of the United States, then colonies, acquainting them with his powers, and desiring them to publish the same as generally as possible, for the information of the people. The declaration and letters were forwarded to congress by gen. *Washington*; and ordered by them to be published in the several news papers, that the inhabitants might be informed of what nature the commissioners were, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who were still suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of the parties concerned, might be convinced, that the valor alone of their country was to save its liberties.

Lord Howe sent up a flag to New York with a letter, under the superscription of "George Washington esq;" but which the general refused to receive, as not being directed to him with the title and in the stile suitable to his station. Congress applauded him for acting with a becoming dignity; and then directed that none of their officers should receive letters or messages, that were not addressed to them according to their respective rank. Adjutant general Paterfon was at length sent 20. with a letter addressed to "George Washington, &c. &c."

1776. &c. &c.” The general exempted him from being blindfolded, as customary in passing through fortifications, and received him with the greatest politeness; but notwithstanding all the adjutant could offer, the *et ceteras* would not remove the impediments to the correspondence attempted. The general told him, “it is true the *et ceteras* imply every thing; but it is no less true, that they imply any thing.” The letter therefore was not accepted. This business served to discover the cast of the general’s temper, and to show that he was firm and guarded. A conference ensued on the subject of prisoners, and complaints on both sides, relative to the treatment they had received. The adjutant asserted on his honor, that the prisoners at Boston, whenever the state of the army there admitted it, were treated with humanity and even indulgence. Upon his observing that the commissioners were intrusted with great powers, the general answered, “Their powers are only to grant pardons. They, who have committed no fault, want no pardon. The Americans are only defending what they think their indisputable rights.” Thus ended a conference, from which it was evident, that all attempts in the same line would prove ineffectual at present. The adjutant, through the whole conversation, addressed the general by the title of excellency, and behaved with the utmost attention and politeness. The arrival of the fleet and army in the neighbourhood of New York, made little impression on congress. They continued with the same inflexibility, in the pursuit of the measures they had adopted. Wherever the declaration of independence was published, it was received with the greatest joy.

joy. It reached Charlestown within a few days, and was 1776. proclaimed in the most solemn manner to the troops under arms; and followed with all the usual parade of a public rejoicing. It found the people of *South Carolina* exasperated against Great Britain for her late hostile attack, and elated with their successful defence of the fort on Sullivan's Island, henceforward to be called Fort Moultrie, in honor to the brave colonel who defended it. The declaration was equally acceptable to the military at New York; and gave them fresh spirits and vigor. The fear of fighting for, what they apprehended would be, a patched reconciliation was finally at an end. Two days before col. Paterfon waited upon gen. Washington, and as if in defiance of all the then formidable appearances, independence was solemnly proclaimed by the civil authority: after which the king's arms, and an elegant picture of his majesty, were destroyed. The episcopal clergy however, upon these proceedings, shut up their churches.

The military operations on the part of the British being delayed for want of the expected reinforcements, the *Americans* had the opportunity of strengthening themselves. Having endeavoured to fortify the entrance of the harbour, so as to make it dangerous for the shipping, they expected that the military operations would commence on the side of *Long Island*; where they threw up lines and erected redoubts, next to New York, in order to prevent gen. Howe's advancing to and possessing himself of those heights which overlook the city, and so attacking it from that quarter. Gen. Greene was intrusted with the command of this post; and studiously acquainted himself with all the defiles leading to it, that he might reap the full advantage of them whenever occasion

1776. cation required. Notwithstanding the efforts to prevent
 July the passage of the British ships up the North river, the
 15. same was effected by the Phoenix, the Rose, and two
 tenders, with little damage from a heavy cannonade.
 They sailed 25 miles, and took their station opposite
 Tarry-town, where the river is about four miles wide.
 21. Only 5000 of the new levies had arrived in the American
 camp out of 15,000 ordered. The exertions of the
 states should have been far more vigorous, considering
 the formidable force their army had soon to cope with,
 such as no part of this new world had seen before, viz.
 a body of 30,000 excellent troops; great numbers of
 them experienced veterans, rendered the more formida-
 ble, by the abundance of their military stores and war-
 like materials, by the goodness and quantity of the ar-
 tillery with which they are provided, and by the nume-
 rous fleet that supports them.

- The particular jealousies and prejudices of the conti-
 nental troops from the different states led them frequently
 to throw out reflections tending to irritate each other and
 injure the common cause; so that the commander in
 Aug. 1. chief interposed his influence to suppress it by general
 orders. This was a measure absolutely necessary, con-
 8. sidering the state of his army; which was as follows, for
 the several posts on New York, Long and Governor's
 Islands, and Powle's Hook, 10,514 fit for duty;—sick
 present, 3039;—sick absent, 629;—on command, 2946;
 —on furlough, 97;—total 17,225. These were little
 other than raw troops, and much scattered, some being
 15 miles apart *. The two fleets of transports, with the
 12. expected reinforcements, arrived under convoy of com-

* General Washington's letter.

modore Hotham and the *Repulse*, as did the camp ^{1776.} equipage, so that gen. Howe was enabled to proceed upon the operations of the campaign, which ought to have commenced at least two months sooner. The scarcity of lead obliged the citizens of New York to part with their window leads for the use of the American army. One house supplied them with 1200lb. and another with a 1000lb. Gen. Washington provided some fire ships for hostile purposes, and the defence of the North river. One of them commanded by capt. Fosdick, and another by capt. Thomas, went up after the *Phoenix* and *Rose*. The night being dark, they passed the *Phoenix* without seeing her. Capt. Thomas fell on board the tender belonging to them, and burnt her. The light gave direction to capt. Fosdick, who grappled the *Phoenix*, but by the lowness of his vessel, and the dexterity of the *Phoenix's* hands, the latter got clear of the fire ship and sunk her. The enemy however, thought it prudent to quit their station two days after; ^{16.} and just before day-light, taking the advantage of a fine wind, the tide, and a very heavy rain, went down the river, through a continual fire from the American forts, but received no such damage as to prevent their rejoining the British fleet. Gen. Greene was so ill, that he could serve no longer, and gen. Washington was obliged to appoint gen. *Sullivan* to the command on *Long Island*, notwithstanding the damage that might accrue to the public by the change at such a critical moment. ^{18.}

About one half of the Hessians were yet wanting; gen. *Howe* however had under him, the troops formerly at Boston, the reinforcement which arrived on the 12th,

1776. the forces from South Carolina, which got in on the 14th, and some regiments from Florida and the West-Indies; so that he felt himself sufficiently strong to resolve upon attempting the island. The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent,

Aug. 22. the army was landed, without opposition, between two small towns, *Utrecht* and *Gravesend*, not far from the Narrows, on the nearest shore to Staten Island. The American works, erected under the eye of gen. Greene, cover the breadth of a small peninsula, having the East River (which separates Long Island from New York) on the left, a marsh, extending to the water side on the right, with the bay and Governor's Island at the back. Within these works lies Brookland, where gen. Sullivan encamped with a strong force, a few miles distant from Utrecht. From the point of land which forms the east side of the Narrows, runs a ridge of hills about north-east, in length about five or six miles, covered with a thick wood, which terminate in a small rising land near Jamaica. Through these hills are three passes only; one near the Narrows; a second on the road, called the Flatbush Road; and a third, called the Bedford Road, being a cross road from Bedford to Flatbush, which lies on the southerly side of these hills. These passes through the mountains, or hills, are easily defensible, being very narrow, and the lands high and mountainous on each side. These are the only roads which can be passed from the south side of the hills to the American lines, except a road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica. An early attention had been given to the importance of these passes. To the second of them, the small American parties, patrolling on the coast,

coast, retired upon the approach of the British boats^{1776.} with the troops. Lord Cornwallis pushed on immediately with the reserve and some other forces; but finding the Americans in possession of the pass, in compliance with orders risked no attack. Three days after, 25. gen. *de Heister*, with two brigades of Hessians from Staten Island, joined the army. It is said, that when landed he was told by one high in command, "The Americans will give the foreigners no quarter;" and that he answered, "Well, as I know it, I am ready to fight on these terms." The foreign officers and soldiers were led to believe, that the Americans are a set of savages and barbarians; and to dread falling into their hands under the apprehension of meeting with the cruellest treatment. The common men were taught to expect, that if taken, they should have their bodies stuck full with pieces of pine wood, and then be burnt to death. The propagation of these falsehoods might be considered as a just retaliation upon congress for devising and adopting a plan for encouraging the Hessians and other foreigners to desert the British service. Officers and men are totally ignorant of the nature of the quarrel between Britain and the United States; and have high notions of subjection to princely authority. They detest the thoughts of rebellion, and the Americans being stiled rebels, they are hearty in desiring and attempting their reduction, and need no incentives to whet their resentments.

The Americans had on each of the three above mentioned passes or roads, a guard of eight hundred men: and to the east of them in the wood, col. Miles was placed with his battalion to guard the road from the south of the hills to Jamaica, and to watch the motion of the

1776. enemy on that side, with orders to keep a party constantly reconnoitring to and across the Jamaica road. The sentinels were so placed as to keep a continual communication between the three guards on the three roads.

Aug. 26. General Howe having fully settled a plan of surprise, gen. de Heister with his Hessians takes post at Flatbush in the evening, and composes the centre. About nine o'clock the same night, the principal army, containing much the greater part of the British forces, under the commands of generals Clinton, earl Percy and lord Cornwallis, march, in order to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and so to turn the left of the Americans. Col. Miles, whose duty it is to guard this road, suffers the British to march not less than six miles till they are near two miles in the rear of the guards, before he discovers and gives notice of their approach. Gen. Clinton arrives within half a mile of the road about two hours before day break, halts and settles his disposition for the attack. One of his patrols falls in with a patrol of American officers on horseback, who are trepanned, and made prisoners. Sullivan, though in expectation that they will bring him intelligence, neglects sending out a fresh patrol on finding himself disappointed. Clinton learning from the officers that the Americans have not occupied the road, detaches a battalion of light infantry to secure it; and advancing with his corps upon the first appearance of day, possesses himself of the heights over which the road passes.

General Grant with the left wing advances along the coast by the west road, near the Narrows. About midnight, the guard, consisting all of New Yorkers and

Pennsylvanians, perceiving that there is danger at hand, 1776. flee without firing a gun, and bring to gen. Parsons, who commands them, the account of the enemy's advancing in great numbers by that road. Grant's movement is to divert the attention of the Americans from the left, where the main attack is to be made by Clinton. Parsons perceives by fair day-light, that the British are got through the wood, and are descending on the north side. He takes twenty of his fugitive guard, being all he can collect, and posts them on a height in front of the British, about half a mile distant, which halts their column, and gives time for lord *Stirling* to come up with his forces, amounting to about 1500, who possesses himself of a hill about two miles from camp.

The engagement begins, soon after day-break, by the Hessians from Flatbush, under gen. Heister, and by gen. Grant on the coast; and a warm cannonade with a brisk fire of small arms, is eagerly supported on both sides for some considerable time. The Americans opposing gen. Heister, are the first who are apprized of the march of the British troops under gen. Clinton. They accordingly retreat in large bodies, and in tolerable order, to recover their camp; but are soon intercepted by the right wing under gen. Clinton; who having halted and refreshed his forces after passing the heights, continues his march, and getting into the rear of the left of the Americans, about half past eight o'clock, attacks them with his light infantry and light dragoons, while quitting the heights to return to their lines. They are driven back, and again meet the Hessians. Thus they are alternately chased and intercepted. In these desperate circumstances, some of their regiments, overpowered

1776. and out-numbered as they are, force their way to camp, through all the dangers with which they are pressed. The Americans under lord Stirling, consisting of col. Miles's two battalions, col. Atlee's, col. Smallwood's and col. Hatch's regiments, and who are engaged with gen. Grant, behave with great bravery and resolution, charging the enemy and maintaining their posts from about eight in the morning till two in the afternoon; but are so late in their knowledge of what passes elsewhere, that their retreat is intercepted by some of the British troops, who, beside turning the hills and the American left, have traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Several break through the enemy's line, and get into the woods. Gen. Parsons, with a small party, escapes by doing it. Numbers throw themselves into the marsh at Gowan's Cove; some are drowned, others perish in the mud; a considerable body however, escapes by this way to the lines. The nature of the country, and the variety of the ground, occasion a continuance and extension of small engagements, pursuits and slaughter, which last for many hours before the scene closes.

The British troops displayed great valor and activity on this occasion. So impetuous was their ardor, that it was with difficulty that they could be restrained, by gen. Howe's orders, from attacking the American lines. They would probably have entered them, had not the works been completed the night before the action, by closing an opening on the right, and placing an abbatiss before it. The *Americans* were most completely surprised and effectually entrapped. Col. Smallwood's Maryland regiment suffered extremely, and was almost cut to pieces. It lost two hundred and fifty-nine men. The loss was



much regretted on account of their being young men of 1776. the best families in the country. All who were engaged in the actions of the day, did not display the same courage; nor was it to be expected from such raw troops. Many escaped from the want of discipline; for they broke at the sight of danger, and saved themselves through flight, whereas otherwise they must have been killed or taken. Large bodies however were captured. Generals Sullivan, lord Stirling, and Udell, beside 3 colonels, 4 lieutenant colonels, 3 majors, 18 captains, 43 lieutenants, 11 ensigns, an adjutant, 3 surgeons and 2 volunteers, were made prisoners, together with 1006 privates, in all 1097. As among the prisoners the wounded were included, an allowance of between 4 and 500 for killed, drowned, perished in the woods, the mud and the like, must be reckoned sufficiently large. Only six brass ordnance were taken. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, did not exceed 318; of of whom only 61 were slain. The Hessians had 2 rank and file killed, and 23 privates and 3 officers wounded.

The brilliant success of the operations on Long Island may fascinate the judgment, and crown the head of gen. Howe with laurels: but there are some sensible American officers, who judge, that by commencing them in that quarter, he completely put into the hands of gen. Washington, the only chance which offered for the defence of New York; and that, if gen. Greene had not been prevented by sickness from continuing in command, all the passes or roads would have been so secured and defended, as that the royal army in attempting or gaining them would have been so crippled, as to have been arrested with regard to all future successful operations.

1776. Gen. Sullivan was too inattentive and confident. Though in the midst of royalists, he suffered them to go backward and forward just as they pleased. One of the American chaplains fearing that the British would make a circuitous march and take to the Jamaica road, asked him whether he had guarded that pass sufficiently, and received for answer, "Yes; so that an angel cannot force it."

It may be thought by many, that if gen. Howe, instead of commencing his operations on Long Island, had run up the *North River*, and landed above *New York*, he would either have compelled gen. Washington to a sudden evacuation of the city, with the loss of nearly all the stores of the army; or to have fought though very unequal in numbers and troops; or to have surrendered for want of provisions. That such a movement might have been made, wind and tide favoring, without any particular danger of a failure, had been established by the safe passage of the *Phoenix* and *Rose* up and down the river.

The victorious army encamped in the front of the American works in the evening; and on the 28th at night broke ground in form about 4 or 500 yards distant from a redoubt which covered the left of the Americans. The same day gen. *Mifflin* crossed over from New York with 1000 men; at night he made an offer to gen. *Washington* of going the rounds, which was accepted. He observed the approaches of the enemy, and the forwardness of their batteries; and was convinced that no time was to be lost. The next morning he conversed with the general upon the subject, and said, "You must either fight, or retreat immediately. What is your strength?"

Aug.
29.

strength?" The general answered, "nine thousand." 1776. The other replied, "It is not sufficient, we must therefore retreat." They were both agreed as to the calling of a council of war; and gen. Mifflin was to propose a retreat. But as he was to make that proposal, lest his own character should suffer, he stipulated, that if a retreat should be agreed upon, he would command the rear; and if an action the van. When the council was held, these reasons among others were mentioned for removing the army to New York, viz.—"The heavy rains which have fallen two days and nights, with but little intermission, have injured the arms, and spoilt a great part of the ammunition; and the soldiers, being without cover and obliged to lie in their lines, are worn out."—"From the time the enemy moved from Flatbush, several large ships have attempted to get up, as supposed, into the East River, to cut off our communication, by which the whole army would be destroyed, but the wind being north-east, they have not been able to effect it."—"The troops are become dispirited, by their incessant duty and watching." It was unanimously agreed to quit. Col. Glover, who belonged to Marblehead, was called upon with the whole of his regiment fit for duty, to take the command of the vessels and flat-bottomed boats. Most of the men were formerly employed in the fishery, and so peculiarly well qualified for the service. The colonel went over himself from New York to give directions; and about seven o'clock at night, officers and men went to work with a spirit and resolution peculiar to that corps. The embarkation of the troops was committed to gen. M'Dougall. He was upon the spot at Brooklyne ferry, at eight o'clock, the

1776. the hour fixed for the commencement of this important movement. To his great mortification he found the militia had not yet embarked. The getting them over protracted the time till between ten and eleven o'clock. Mean while, about nine, the tide of ebb made and the wind blew strong at north-east, which adding to the rapidity of the tide, rendered it impossible to effect the retreat, in the course of the night, with only that number of row boats which they could command; and the state of the wind and tide put it out of the power of col. Glover's men to make any use of the sail boats. Gen. M'Dougall sent col. Grayson, one of the commander in chief's aids, to report to his excellency their embarrassed situation; and gave it as his opinion, that the retreat was impracticable that night. The colonel returned soon after, not being able to find the commander in chief, on which the general went on with the embarkation under all these discouragements. But about eleven the wind died away, and soon after sprung up at south-west, and blew fresh, which rendered the sail boats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the island to the city, direct, easy and expeditious. Providence further interposed in favor of the retreating army, by sending a thick fog about two o'clock in the morning, which hung over Long Island, while on New York side it was clear. During the embarkation, col. Scammell was sent to gen. Mifflin with orders for a particular regiment to march down to the ferry; the colonel mistook the orders, and instead of a regiment understood the whole covering party, and delivered them accordingly. On that gen. Mifflin quitted the lines, and came down to the place of embarkation, to the great astonish-

Aug.
30.

astonishment of gen. Washington, who with surprise in-^{1776.}
quired into the reason of such conduct. The mistake
being cleared up, gen. Mifflin returned to the lines, after
they had been abandoned about three quarters of an
hour, without its being discovered by the enemy, be-
cause of the fog. The fog and wind continued to favor
the retreat, till the whole army, 9000 in number, with
all the field artillery, such heavy ordnance as was of
most value, ammunition, provision, cattle, horses, carts,
&c. were safe over. The water was so remarkably
smooth as to admit of the row boats being loaded within
a few inches of the gunnel. Gen. Washington, though
often entreated, would not leave the island, till Mifflin
with his covering party left the lines, at about six o'clock.
The enemy were so nigh, that they were heard at work
with their pickaxes and shovels. In about half an hour
after the lines were finally abandoned, the fog cleared
off, and the British were seen taking possession of the
American works. Four boats were on the river, three
half way over, full of troops; the fourth, within reach
of the enemy's fire upon the shore, was compelled to
return; she had only three men in her, who tarried be-
hind to plunder. The river is a mile or more across;
and yet the retreat was effected in less than thirteen
hours, a great part of which time it rained hard.

Had it not been for the providential shifting of the
wind, not more than half the army could possibly have
crossed, and the remainder, with a number of general
officers, and all the heavy ordnance at least, must in-
evitably have fallen into the enemy's hand. Had it not
been also for that heavenly messenger, the fog, to cover
the first desertion of the lines, and the several proceed-
ings

1776. ings of the Americans after day-break, they must have sustained considerable losses. The fog resembled a thick small mist, so that you could see but a little way before you. It was very unusual also to have a fog at that time of the year. My informer, a citizen of New York, could not recollect his having known any at that season, within the space of twenty or thirty years.

Sept. 2. Governor's Island, on which were two regiments, was evacuated likewise with the loss only of one man's arm, by a cannon shot from the ships. The Americans finished the removal of their military stores from thence, and took every thing off but a few pieces of cannon, notwithstanding the ships of war lay within a quarter of a mile of some part of it*.

4. Since the affair of Long Island, endeavours have been used to keep up the spirits of the people, by puffing accounts of the extraordinary bravery of their troops, and the destruction they made of the enemy. But that matters are not very promising appears from a letter of gen. Mercer, who commands the flying camp, dated September the 4th, wherein he writes, " Gen. Washington has not so far as I have seen 5000 men to be depended on for the service of a campaign, and I have not 1000. Both our armies are composed of raw militia, perpetually fluctuating between the camp and their farms, poorly armed, and still worse disciplined. These are not a match for, were their numbers equal to, veteran troops, well fitted and urged on by able officers. Numbers and discipline must prevail at last. Giving soldiers, or

* The particulars of the retreat are taken from Dr. Rodgers's thanksgiving sermon; from col. Glover's letters; and from the information of persons who were present.

even the lower orders of mankind, the choice of officers, will for ever mar the discipline of armies." The wretched choice of officers in the Massachusetts, is complained of in a letter of this purport to a gentleman of that state: "I can account for the strange military appointments in your state, on no other principle, than that your people mean to guard against the danger of an army, by making it contemptible. Without officers we shall never have soldiers. They are sinking the state in the eyes of the whole continent. At the end of a campaign we find butchers, bakers, fuddlers, and a large tribe of contractors, with fortunes made at the public expence, while a young officer of merit, on twenty-six dollars a month, is a beggar. A man of honor and spirit cannot herd with company unworthy of him; yet there is no one beneath a field officer, whose pay gives him a right to company above a shoe-black. The great number of southern officers now in York, who are but little used to the equality which prevails in New England, are continually resenting the littleness of their pay." A third gentleman tells a member of congress—"I cannot agree with you on the frequent calling out of the militia. They are uneasy, restless and discontented. They leave their business in a most perplexing situation, when called out suddenly, and must be very great sufferers in their private property. Their minds are always at home, in their shops, or on their farms. This renders them low spirited;—a dejection fast seizes them;—sickness and death are the consequences. The only purpose a militia can serve, under present regulations, is, on some sudden invasion to assemble and repel the enemy, and return to their business again."

The

1776. The account will shock your humanity ; and yet you must be told, that since the conquest of Long Island, the American captives, in several instances, were tied up to be fired at by the royal troops, openly and without censure*.

You will not wish a detention of this letter, that the intelligence from New York may be brought down to a later period, it shall therefore be closed with an account of the troops to the northward, and of some proceedings in the Massachusetts.

The return of the troops serving in Canada under gen. Sullivan was 7006. When gen. Gates first joined them, the small pox raged ; not a cannon was mounted ; the vessels were lumbered with stores ; the men were dispirited with defeat and fatigue ; in short, the whole was a scene variegated with every distress and disappointment, which can conspire to ruin an army. Gen. Sullivan left it the 12th of July ; when he first joined it in Canada, it was torn to pieces by sickness and unaccountable occurrences ; its present security is thought to be owing to him ; and therefore the field officers addressed him, when leaving them, and said, “ It is to you, Sir, the public are indebted, for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear, and grateful ejaculation of the sick : your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier.”

* See *McFingal*, a modern Epic Poem in four Cantos, p. 82. Printed at Hartford in Connecticut, 1782. The author is known to be Mr. John Trumbull, the American Butler for wit and humor.

With the losses sustained at Quebec, Three Rivers, 1776. the Cedars, the consequent retreat from Canada, together with the deaths and desertions, which have happened since the first of April, the northern army has been diminished upward of 5000, exclusive of 3000 sick. Till these were separated, and sent off to Fort George, at the head of Lake George, where the general hospital has been established, the camp itself had the appearance of a general hospital rather than an army. The small-pox had infected every thing belonging to it, the clothes, the blankets, the air, the very ground the men walked on. Gen. Gates exerted all his powers to prevent this pestilence from fixing at Skeensborough, to which place the militia, ordered to reinforce him, were directed to repair. The army is not now at Crown Point, for a council of general officers unanimously determined to retire from thence, and take post at the strong ground opposite to the east point of Tyconderoga. By the end of the month affairs began to wear a less gloomy aspect. The fleet upon Lake Champlain increased rapidly. The militia began to come to Skeensborough. On the 6th ^{Aug.} of August the general was joined by 600 from New ^{6.} Hampshire; but many, both officers and soldiers, were detained on their march, by inoculating, contrary to orders, through fear of being infected with the small-pox in the natural way. While the army was in Canada, regularity was dispensed with, or neglected; and the ruin of affairs there was ascribed by some members of congress to the want of regular returns. Who was general, who quarter-master, who pay-master, who commissary, were important secrets, which all their penetration was never able to discover. Gates has sent them
a re-

1776. a return, the most systematical they have seen. The utmost exertions are applied in building galleys and gondolas, to continue a naval superiority upon the lake, whereby to prevent Sir Guy Carleton's penetrating into the United States by way of Ty. The post opposite to it occupied by the army, has been called Mount Independence, since the declaration of independence reached them; for that was received with the usual applause.

Sept. 2. The Massachusetts house of representatives have in an address to congress requested, that they would form
14. a confederation. They have also chosen gen. Lincoln to command the militia ordered to New York. An attempt, which is now making, to fix by an act of the general court, the price of various articles, may be well intended by the generality. The characters of many, who are for the measure, are too fair to admit the suspicion of a bad intention. But the measure will at length prove ineffectual for the good meant to be answered by it, and be productive of great evil. The most conscientious and patriotic will be injured; while the crafty and unprincipled make their advantage of it. Prices of provision, and divers other articles, like water, will find their own level; and be high or low, according to the quantity of stock in hand and the demand that there is for them. But warm theorists will not be easily convinced by any other arguments, than those which result from experiments.

L E T T E R VII.

Roxbury, Dec. 20, 1776.

THE American army having providentially escaped¹⁷⁷⁶ from Long Island, gen. Sullivan was immediately sent upon parole with a verbal message from lord Howe to the congress; importing that though he could not at present treat with them in that character, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider as private gentlemen. He informed them, that he, with the general, had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America upon terms advantageous to both:—that he wished a compact might be settled at a time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say, that it was compelled to enter into such agreement:—that were they disposed to treat, many things, which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted:—and that, if upon the conference, they found any probable ground of an accommodation, the authority of congress would be afterward acknowledged to render the treaty complete. The general arrived at^{Sept.} congress with this message on the 2d of September;^{2.} and was desired to reduce it to writing. They received a letter at the same time from gen. Washington, acquainting them with the removal of the army from Long Island. On the 5th, gen. Sullivan was requested to inform lord Howe, “ that congress being the repre-

VOL. II. Y sentatives

1776. sentatives of the free and independent states of America, they cannot with propriety send any of their members, to confer with his lordship in their private characters, but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by congress for that purpose in behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same." The
- Sept. 6. the next day they elected by ballot for their committee, Messrs. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge.
14. Eight days after, the committee met lord Howe upon Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, where his lordship received and entertained them with the utmost politeness. The committee in their report, summed up the account of the conference, by mentioning that it did not appear to them, that his lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than was contained in the act of parliament; for that as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to them, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result to the ministry, they apprehended any expectation from the effect of such power would have been too precarious for America to have relied upon, had she still continued in her state of dependence. Thus the hopes of negotiation by the commissioners ended. The friends to independency rejoiced that it was brought to so happy a conclusion. They almost trembled lest it should prove insinuating, and something should take place under it, which, in the present distressed circumstances of their military affairs, might

demolish the fabric they were erecting. It served to ^{1776.} gain time for recovering from the shock occasioned by the losses sustained on Long Island. If it delayed the operations of gen. Howe, it answered another valuable purpose: and it is hard otherwise to account for his delay. The committee managed with great dexterity; and maintained the dignity of congress. Their sentiments and language became their character. His lordship was explicitly and authoritatively assured, that neither the committee, nor the congress which sent them, had authority to treat in any other capacity than as *independent states*. His lordship had "no instructions on that subject." The Americans must therefore fight it out, and trust in God for success.

General Washington's situation, after evacuating Long Island, was truly distressing. The check, which the detachment had sustained, dispirited too great a proportion of the troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia were dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers went off, by companies at a time, by half regiments, and in some instances almost by whole ones. The flying camp was too literally such. Whole battalions of them ran off from Powle's (the mode of spelling Paul's two hundred years back *) Hook, and the heights of Bergen, upon the firing of a broad-side from a man of war, when no one was hurt by it. An entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well being of an army, made his condition still more alarming; and oc-

* See queen Elizabeth's Bible, printed 1572, for Jugg in Powle's Church Yard.

1776. occasioned a want of confidence in the generality of the troops. The number of men fit for duty, taking in the main body and all the out-posts, was for some days under 20,000: but the militia, too contemptible to merit the name of soldiers, with the new levies alike despicable, composed more than a third of the army. The militia did inexpressible damage, by telling the other troops—"all is gone—the regulars must overcome." By such language the men became more and more disheartened. What is said of the militia is not peculiar to those from any one state: as to their intractableness, and disregard of order and subordination, it is common to all militia, and must be generally expected; for men who have been free, and never subject to restraint or any kind of control, cannot, in a day, be taught the necessity, or be brought to see the expediency of strict discipline. Within nine days after the evacuation, the number of the sick, by the returns, formed one quarter of the whole army.

Such were circumstances, that they demanded the greatest harmony possible among the troops; whereas no small animosity prevailed between those of the northern and southern states, occasioned by general and illiberal reflections freely dealt out at head quarters. It was not countenanced by the commander in chief; but the adjutant general assiduously endeavoured to make and promote it; so that his excellency, in order to remedy it in some measure, appointed David Henley esq; deputy adjutant general. The day this appointment was announced to the army in general orders, the 6th of September, a letter was written to a member of congress, which says, "The infamous desertions, the shameless ravages, seditious speeches and mutinous behaviour,

which prevail in your army, call in the loudest language^{1776.} for a reform. The militia here are only an armed rabble, and all the troops are without discipline. If the congress does not raise an army for three years or during the contest, all the best officers will quit it. Had we been wise to engage the men, at first, during the war, we should now have had an army to have met British troops on an equal footing. As to having recourse to a militia, it is a most wretched subterfuge, experience has demonstrated they will not stand fire. They will not fight from home. Men must learn to fight as they learn any thing else. We have an exceeding good commander in chief, who is not wanting in intrepidity, nor the truest patriotism. I wish him more able counsellors and spirited assistants. Be assured, Sir, that our men have, in a great measure, lost that virtue which first engaged them to fight, and are sinking into an army of mercenaries."

One lieutenant colonel Zeidwitz was tried for writing a letter to the late governor Tryon, wherein he declared his attachment to the royal cause, and promised his service upon certain conditions: he was sentenced to be cashiered, and rendered incapable of any future military command. This strange sentence was owing to a militia brigadier general, and others of a similar judgment, who being members of the court, said, "it was only an attempt to correspond;" and so the fellow escaped.

General *Washington* divided his army, leaving 4500 in the city of *New York*, and posting 6500 at *Haerlem*, and 12,000 at *Kingbridge**. On the hills at, or in the neighbourhood of these places, forts had been erected,

* Colonel Glover's letter.

1776. which the troops garrisoned. The strongest was *Fort Washington*, nigh *Haerlem*, of difficult access, and overlooking the North river, the passage of which it was meant to secure by the aid of *Fort Lee*, opposite to it, on the Jersey side. When it became clear to the general, that the enemy meant to throw their whole army between part of his in New York and its environs, and the remainder about *Kingsbridge*, he removed his quarters to col. Roger Morris's, ten miles from New York, and not very distant from *Fort Washington*. The day before the committee of congress met lord Howe, five ships of war were sent up the East river; on which it was thought necessary to evacuate the city as fast as possible, and to remove the sick, the ordnance, stores and provisions. Col. Glover was employed in this service; he began upon it about nine at night. By sunrise the next morning, his brigade had got safe over to the Jerseys, the sick in and about the city, amounting to 500. On the Saturday, he was ordered to have the tents struck, and the heavy baggage carried down to the North river to be transported up in boats, while the tents and light baggage were carried up in waggons. This was completed about nine at night, when an alarm took place; and he was ordered to march his brigade to *Haerlem* to join gen. M'Dougall, leaving the whole baggage of two regiments behind, which afterward fell into the enemy's hands. The next morning they marched to *Kingsbridge*. The poor lads had just unslung their packs, when up drives an express with an account that the enemy were landing: on which they marched back without any kind of refreshment, joined five other brigades, about 7000, and formed on *Haerlem* plains.

General

General Howe, having fully prepared for a descent¹⁷⁷⁶ on New York Island, embarked a strong division of the army under the command of gen. Clinton and others, in boats at the head of Newtown inlet and at another place higher up, where they could not be observed by the Americans; who expected that the attack would be made on the side next to the East river, and had therefore thrown up works and lines to defend themselves. ^{Sept.} About eleven o'clock, gen. *Howe's* troops landed, under¹⁵ cover of the five ships of war, in two divisions, between Kep's-bay and Turtle-bay, the Hessians in one place and the British in another. As soon as gen. *Washington* heard the firing of the men of war, he rode with all dispatch toward the lines; but to his great mortification, found the troops posted in them, retreating with the utmost precipitation; and those ordered to support them, Parsons's and Fellows's brigades, flying in every direction, and in the greatest confusion. His attempts to stop them were fruitless, though he drew his sword and threatened to run them through, cocked and snapped his pistols. On the appearance of a small part of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder was increased, and they ran off without firing a single shot, and left the general in a hazardous situation, so that his attendants, to extricate him out of it, caught the bridle of his horse, and gave him a different direction. Three large ships were stationed in the North river, opposite to those in the East river; both of them kept up a constant cannonading with grape shot and langrage quite across the island. The Hessians upon their landing, seized and secured in a neighbouring building as enemies, some persons who had been placed there to

1775. serve as guides, which for a while subjected them to a difficulty. When the British were completely landed, they marched on toward the Kingsbridge road. The American brigades, that had fled upon the enemy's approaching the lines, stopped not till met by col. Glover's and the five other brigades, who were hastening down to them. Upon the junction, the whole marched forward and took post on some heights, when all at once, about 8000 of the enemy as was thought, hove in sight on the next height and halted. Gen. Washington at first consented to his troops marching forward to give them battle; but on a second consideration, counter-ordered, as he could not have any dependence on the militia and the flying camp, which composed half the number then present. When the Americans were withdrawn, and no prospect of action remained, the British generals repaired to the house of Mr. Robert Murray, a gentleman of the quaker persuasion. The lady of the house being at home, entertained them most civilly, with what served for, or was *cakes and wine*. They were well pleased with the entertainment, and tarried there near upon two hours or more; gov. Tryon seasoning the repast, at times, by joking Mrs. Murray about her American friends, for she was known to be a steady advocate for the liberties of the country. Meanwhile, the Hessians and the British, except a strong corps which marched down the road to take possession of the city, remained upon their arms inactive; which gave gen. *Putnam* the opportunity of escaping with about 3500 men, including the guards, who had been left to shift for themselves, when col. Glover had been ordered away from New York. The general, in order to escape any troops that
might

might be advancing upon the direct road to the city, ^{1776.} betook himself to that which lies along side the North river, and marched to the end, where it turns off short to the right, and leads on to another and narrower, that goes to Blooming-dale. By this last road, he avoided every dangerous approach to the enemy, and retreated with safety. But nothing could have been easier than to have prevented his getting into it. A good body of troops, with a couple of field pieces, in about twenty minutes or less, could have taken such a position as would necessarily have cut off Putnam's retreat. Col. Grayson has repeatedly said, speaking humorously, "Mrs. Murray saved the American army." On the day that gen. Howe's forces landed and the following one, they made prisoners 354 privates and 17 officers *. Many think the general was greatly mistaken in landing on the island instead of throwing his army around it above Kingsbridge, and thereby hemming in the whole body of the Americans at once. Such a manœuvre they view as having been within the compass of easy practice, considering what a naval and military apparatus he had at his service.

On the Monday there was a tolerable skirmish between two battalions of light infantry and highlanders, ^{Sept. 16.} and three companies of Hessian riflemen commanded by brigadier Leslie, and detachments from the American army under the command of lieut. col. Knolton of Connecticut, and major Leitch of Virginia. The colonel received a mortal wound, and the major three balls through his body, but is likely to do well. Their parties behaved with great bravery, and being supplied with

* The board of war.

1776. fresh troops, beat the enemy fairly from the field. The loss of the Americans, except in col. Knolton, a most valuable and gallant officer, was inconsiderable; that of the enemy between 80 and 100 wounded, and 15 or 20 killed. This little advantage inspirited the Americans prodigiously. They found it required only resolution and good officers to make an enemy, they stood too much in dread of, give way *. The men will fight if led on by good officers, and as certainly run away if commanded by scoundrels. Sunday was an instance of the last, and the next day a confirmation of the first assertion. On Sunday, the officers, instead of heading and leading the men on to attack the enemy when landing, were the first to scamper off.

Sept. A few days after the British had possessed themselves of
21. *New York*, a most terrible fire happened. A thousand houses, near one fourth of the city, were laid in ashes. Trinity church, the public charity school, the rector's house, and a Lutheran chapel were among the buildings which were consumed. The loss sustained in houses &c. by the corporation of Trinity church, is thought, upon a moderate computation, to be more than 15,600*l.* sterling. The fire broke out at a dram shop, close in with the water-side, on Whitehall slip, about one o'clock in the morning. The reports spread of its breaking out in several places at the same time, were erroneous. Every thing was very dry, and a brisk southerly wind blew. The flames soon caught the neighbouring houses, spread, raged with inconceivable violence, and made all the subsequent havock. There were few citizens in town; and the fire engines and pumps were out of

* General Washington's letter to gen. Gates.

order. Two regiments went immediately to the place, 1776. and many boats full of men were sent from the fleet: to these under Providence it was owing, that the whole city was not reduced to ashes. A gentleman * who was at Bergen (opposite the spot where the fire first broke out) saw it soon after it began, observed its progress, and is persuaded that it was not purposely kindled, but was merely accidental †, and the probable consequence of the sailors having been suffered to go on shore the day before to regale and frolic. The dryness of the materials, the brisk southerly wind, and the covering of the houses, shingles instead of slate or tiles, easily account for its spreading, without calling in the aid of incendiaries.

A brigadier writes concerning the animosity in the American army above noticed—"It has already risen to such a height, that the Pennsylvania and New England troops would as soon fight each other as the enemy. Officers of all ranks are indiscriminately treated in a most contemptible manner, and whole colonies traduced and vilified as cheats, knaves, cowards, poltroons, hypocrites, and every term of reproach, for no other reason, but because they are situated east of New York. Every honor is paid to the merit of good men from the south; the merit, if such be possible, from the north is not acknowledged; but if too apparent to be blasted with falsehood, is carefully buried in oblivion. The cowardice or misbehaviour of the south is carefully covered over, the least misconduct in the gentlemen of

* Mr. Griffiths of New York.

† The same was confirmed to me by other gentlemen, while at New York, August 1785.

1776. the north is published with large comments and aggravations."

Congress have at length adopted a new code for the government of the army. It was become absolutely necessary. "No laws can be too severe for the government of men who live by the sword, and who have this only reply for their ravages—*quis negat arma tenenti?*" This was the language of a gentleman, whose concern in the army gave him the best opportunity of procuring certain information; and who said further to a member of congress—"Absolute tyranny is essential to the government of an army, and every man who carries arms, from the general officer to the private sentinel, must be content to be a temporary slave, if he would serve his country as a soldier. Almost every villainy and rascality that can disgrace the man, the soldier or the citizen, is daily practised without meeting the punishment they merit. So many of our officers want honor, and so many of our soldiers want virtue, civil, social, and military, that nothing but the severest punishments will keep both from practices which must ruin us. The infamous and cruel ravages, which have been made on the wretched distressed inhabitants of this unfortunate island (New York) by many of our soldiers, must disgrace and expose our army to detestation. I have heard some tales of woe, occasioned by the robberies of our army, which would extort sighs from the hearts of tygers. Our men are at present only robbers; that they will soon be murderers unless some are hanged, I have little doubt." The difficulty which the army has been under, from the want of almost every necessary, tents, camp-kettles, blankets and clothes of every kind,

kind; may have contributed toward the cause of these 1776.
complaints. Unless the men can get supplied in a regular way, they will be inclined, notwithstanding the most positive general orders to the contrary, to help themselves; however irregularly; and when once they begin to trespass from necessity, they are tempted to proceed for convenience or pleasure.

Nearly at the same time, an officer high in rank and much esteemed, communicated his thoughts in these Sept. 24.
words:—"We are now upon the eve of another dissolution of the army. Unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by congress, our cause will be lost. The few who act upon principles of disinterestedness are, comparatively speaking, no more than a drop in the ocean. As the war must be carried on systematically, you must establish your army upon a permanent footing, and give your officers good pay, that they may be, and support the character of gentlemen, and not be driven, by a scanty allowance, to the low and dirty arts, which many of them practise, to filch the public of more than the difference of pay would amount to. The men must be engaged by a good bounty for the continuance of the war. To depend upon militia is assuredly resting on a broken staff. They cannot brook subordination. It would be cheaper to keep fifty or a hundred thousand in constant pay, than depend upon half the number, and supply the other half occasionally by militia. If I was to declare upon oath, whether the militia have been most serviceable or hurtful upon the whole, I should subscribe to the latter. No man, who regards order, regularity and œconomy, or who has any regard for his own honor, character or peace of mind,

1776. mind, will risk them upon militia." While the Ame-
 Sept. 25. rican cause is thus exposed, some gentlemen observe with
 pleasure of the enemy, that—"Though they are brave
 and furnished with all matters, yet from some causes
 they discover very little of the great or vast in their de-
 signs and executions."

It is not strange, that there is a number of bad officers
 in the continental service, when you consider that many
 were chosen by their own men, who elected them, not
 from a regard to merit or any love of discipline, but
 from the knowledge they had of their being ready to
 associate with them on the foot of equality. It was the
 case in divers instances, that, when a company was form-
 ing, the men would choose those for officers who con-
 sented to throw their pay into a joint stock with the pri-
 vates, from which, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, ser-
 geants, corporals, with drummers and privates, drew
 equal shares. Can it then be wondered at, however
 mortifying it may prove, that a captain should be tried
 and broken for stealing his soldiers blankets, or that
 another officer should be found shaving his men in the
 face of distinguished characters! Time must and will
 clear the army of these despicable commission-bearers.

Too many of the regimental surgeons have made a
 practice of selling recommendations to furloughs and
 discharges at a less sum than a shilling a man. Only
 one of the number supposed to merit the same distinc-
 tion, was drummed out of the army, for such a scan-
 dalous conduct. Had all who deserved it, met the like
 reward, a good reform would have been made: that
 one is too pitiful a subject, to have his name recorded.
 He charged each man sixpence sterling, and any one
 was

was welcome to a certificate for that sum. Several of ¹⁷⁷⁶ the regimental surgeons had no professional abilities; had never seen an operation of surgery; were unlettered and ignorant to a degree scarcely to be imagined. Others were amazingly deficient in the article of professional apparatus. From one general return of fifteen regiments, it appeared that for fifteen surgeons and as many mates, all the instruments (which were reported to be private property) amounted only to six sets of amputating—two of trepanning—fifteen cases of pocket instruments—seventy-five crooked, and six straight needles—four incision knives for dilating wounds, or other purposes—and three pair of forceps for extracting bullets.

Since the evacuation of New York, the sick have suffered very much for want of necessaries, and have been in a miserable situation; but it appears to have been owing greatly to untoward circumstances, hurry, confusion, and an actual want of the requisites for affording relief. The sick have amounted to many thousands, including what have been at different places; and many hundreds, if not some thousands, have been swept off by various diseases. Much censure has been cast upon Dr. Morgan, director general of the hospital, for the sufferings which the sick have endured, more than is due, as apprehended. The army ought to have been early provided with medicines, instruments, and bandages, by a continental druggist, or chosen committee, before the campaign began, instead of having them to procure afterward: and the militia which came late to the field, should have been provided by the different states, before they joined the army.

An

1776. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the British out-post on Montresor Island. A large party of Americans, in five flat-bottomed boats, under the command of col. Jackson, went down Haerlem river to attack it, a little after four in the morning. They had two pieces of cannon with them: the post was guarded by about eighty men. The Brune frigate being at anchor near the island, fired at the boats in the dark, and sunk one of them. The colonel landed, and a skirmish ensued; but several of the officers and men behaved most scandalously; instead of supporting him they pushed off, so that he was obliged to retreat. He was himself wounded, and left two and twenty wounded behind. Major Thomas Henley, brother to the deputy adjutant general, an intrepid officer, was killed.

General *Howe* had at length ripened his plan for cutting off gen. *Washington's* communication with the eastern states, and enclosing him on all sides in his fastnesses on the north end of New York Island; which ought to have been executed a month back, by a bold and unexpected removal of the troops from Long Island in the first instance, to Rochelle or the neighbourhood.

Oct. 12. The greater part of the army, being embarked in flat boats and other small craft, passed through Hell-gate, a passage terrible in name, but no ways dangerous at the proper time of tide; entered the Sound, and landed early in the morning on *Frog's Neck*, in West Chester county, belonging to New York, upon the side of Connecticut. Gen. *Washington's* army, fit for duty, present and on command at different posts, militia included, was about 19,000. Officers and men were in expectation of active service. The former were out fre-

frequently in reconnoitring parties; the latter were 1776. looking out for the arrival of gen. Lee, on his way to the camp. The Americans had no intention of quitting their ground upon the island and the neighbourhood of Kingsbridge; but a number of regiments were sent forward to counteract the operations of the enemy. When the royal army was landed, the generals found they could not get upon the continent, by reason of the causeway's being broken down, and of works being erected to oppose them. Six days were spent here to little purpose, while a dozen other places were open, where the troops might have landed with scarce any or no opposition, or difficulty attending them. On the last of these days the second division of foreign mercenaries arrived at New York. The fleet consisted of seventy-two sail, having on board 4000 Hessians, 1000 Waldeckers, two companies of chasseurs or riflemen, 200 English recruits, and 2000 baggage horses. The horse-transports were heavy sailing Dutchmen. They left St. Helen's the 28th of June, were obliged to put into Plymouth the 7th of July, and sailed from thence the 19th.

General Lee arrived in the American camp two days 14. after gen. Howe's landing. The troops were mightily elated with his presence, and felt themselves stronger by 2000 men upon the occasion; for they had great confidence in his abilities, and expected much from him, because of the success which had attended him at Charlestown. The general found that there was a prevailing inclination among the chief officers for remaining on the island. He strongly urged the absolute necessity of removing toward East and West Chester. Gen. Wash-
 Vol. II. Z ington

1776. ington called a council of war. Lee asked what they
 Oct. meant by entertaining a thought of holding their posi-
 16. tion, while the enemy had the command of the water on
 each side of them, and were so strong both in their front
 and rear; and when there was a bridge before them,
 over which they must pass to escape being wholly en-
 closed. He soon convinced them, how much they had
 been mistaken. All agreed that the bulk of the army
 should quit the island. He was also for withdrawing
 the garrison from Fort Washington. Gen. Greene was
 otherwise minded, and argued, that the possessing of
 that post would divert a large body of the enemy, and
 keep them from joining the troops under gen. Howe.
 The latter had left earl Percy, with two brigades of British
 troops, and one of Hessian, about 5000 men, in line
 near Haerlem, to cover New York from the insults of
 the garrison. Greene further urged the advantage it
 would be of in covering, with Fort Lee, the transpor-
 tation of provision and other articles up the North River
 for the service of the American troops. He stated also
 that the garrison could be brought off at any time by
 boats from the Jersey side of the river. It was concluded
 that the possession of Fort Washington, and the line
 annexed to it, should be continued; and more than
 2000 men were assigned to this service.

General Howe, on the other hand, while at Frog's
 Neck, received provisions, stores, and a reinforcement;
 18. then re embarked several corps, passed round Frog's
 Neck, landed at the mouth of Hutchinson's river, and
 secured a passage for the main body; which crossed at
 the same place, advanced immediately, and lay that
 night upon their arms with their right near Rochelle.

On

On their march to this ground, they were annoyed by ¹⁷⁷⁶ a regiment or two of Americans, and one of the rifle battalions, whom gen. Lee posted behind a wall and secreted for that purpose. Their advanced party was repulsed twice; and the Americans did not leave the wall, till the enemy advanced a third time, in solid columns, when they gave them several fires, and then retreated by gen. Lee's order. The British are thought to have lost a considerable number. The Americans had a few killed and about 60 wounded. On the 21st the right and centre of the army moved two miles to the northward of Rochelle, on the road to the *White Plains*. Lieut. col. Rogers, with his corps of rangers, was detached to possess Marrison, where the carelessness of his sentries exposed him to a surprise, by which he suffered. Gen Howe was joined by gen. Knyphausen, ^{22d} with the second division of Hessians, and the regiment of Waldeckers.

General Washington, while moving the army from York Island into the country, was careful to march and form the troops, so as to make a front toward the enemy, from East Chester almost to White Plains, on the east side of the highway, thereby to secure the march of those who were behind on their right, and to defend the removal of the sick, the cannon, stores, &c. Thus they made a line of small, detached, and intrenched camps, occupying every height and strong ground, from Valentine's-hill, about a mile from Kingsbridge on the right, to near the White Plains on the left. But the movement was attended with much difficulty, for want of waggons and artillery horses. The baggage and artillery were carried or drawn off by hand. When a

1776. part was forwarded, the other was fetched on. This was the general way of removing the camp equipage and other appendages of the army. The few teams which were at hand, were no wise equal to the service; and their deficiency could be made up only by the bodily labor of the men.

Oct. 25. The royal army moves in two columns, and takes a position with the *Brunx* in front; upon which the Americans quit their detached camps, and leaving a corps near Kingsbridge, assemble their main force at White Plains, behind intrenchments thrown up by the advanced corps. Every thing being prepared for bringing on an action, 28. gen. Howe marches the troops early in the morning in two columns toward the White Plains, the left being commanded by gen. Heister. All gen. Washington's advanced parties being drove back to their works before noon, the army forms with the right upon the road to Mar-rineck, about a mile distant from the American centre, and the left to the Brunx, about the same distance from the right flank of their intrenchments. Gen. M'Dougall, with about 1600 men, possesses an advantageous hill separated from the right flank of the intrenchments by the Brunx, which by its windings covers the general's troops from the left of the royal forces. Gen. Leslie, with the second brigade of British troops, the Hessian grenadiers under col. Donop, and a battalion of the Hessian corps, are ordered to dislodge him. Previous to their attack, col. Rall, commanding a brigade of the Hessians on the left, passes the Brunx, and gains a post which enables him to annoy the flank of M'Dougall's corps, while engaged with the other forces in front. Four regiments of militia, upon the approach

of about 250 light horse, run away, and leave the general with 600 men; who defend the hill for about an hour, against the whole fire of twelve pieces of artillery, and of the musketry and cavalry, with the loss of forty-seven men killed and seventy wounded *. The gaining of this post takes up some considerable time, which is prolonged by the Americans supporting a broken and scattered engagement in defence of the adjoining walls and enclosures. In the evening, the Hessian grenadiers are ordered forward within cannon shot of the intrenchments, the second brigade of the British forms in their rear, and the two Hessian brigades in the left of the second. The right and centre do not quit the ground on which they have formed. In this position the whole royal army lie upon their arms during the night, expecting to attack the enemy's camp the next day. The next day they advance to a hill, on which col. Glover 29. commands, and where he has one brass twenty-four, a six, and a three pounder, and three iron twelve pounders. They form a line as far as he can see from right to left, and appear to be about 12,000. They approach in four columns, the cavalry and artillery in front, and continue doing it till within about three quarters of a mile of the hill, then file off to the left to take post on a hill to the colonel's right, which overlooks that he is posted on. They have to pass a valley. He reserves his fire till they get into it, in order to ascend the hill; he begins with the three pounder, next the six, reserving the brass twenty-four pounder till the last. They are put into great confusion; however, they ascend the hill with the

† Colonel Glover's letter, dated North Castle, Nov. 14, 1776.

1776. light horse, and one piece of artillery, a three pounder, fire it four times, and retreat.

General Howe, observing that gen. Washington's lines were much strengthened by additional works, deferred all further attack till the arrival of more troops from those which had been left with lord Percy, to watch the garrison of Fort Washington. He had declined bringing on a general action, the preceding day, upon observing that Washington had formed a second line *; but the American discipline was so defective, that had the former attacked, the superior discipline of his troops would most probably have obliged the first line to have given way, which by falling back upon the second, might have occasioned a total defeat. A general engagement was expected by the Americans; and the soldiers were very desirous of coming to blows with the enemy, and wished much to engage. During the engagement with gen. Leslie's corps, the American baggage was moving off in full sight of the enemy. The then position of the continental army, gen. Lee condemned as the most execrable. He was of opinion, that had the enemy attacked the centre, and brought on a general engagement, the Americans must have met with a total defeat, or have lost all their baggage, though they had now organized themselves, and had procured ox-teams and further conveniencies. On the other hand gen. Washington did not reinforce and support the right wing, for he meant that the enemy should attack the

* Colonel Henley told me in the evening of Feb. 26, 1784, that gen. Lee, when a prisoner, asked gen. Howe, why he did not bring on a general engagement, and received for answer the reason above mentioned.

centre. The loss of the corps under gen. Leslie must ^{1776.} have suffered very considerably, for from an authentic return of his own brigade, since found on the ground, it appears that the killed of it were a lieutenant colonel, 2 captains, a lieutenant, an ensign, a sergeant, and 22 privates; and that the wounded were 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 12 sergeants, and 109 privates*. The British made only 30 privates, and 4 officers and staff, prisoners at White Plains †. But the Americans conjectured at first, that they had suffered a much greater loss, not less than 400 in killed, wounded and missing. They were soon convinced of their mistake. A number of the militia who ran off at the sight of the light horse in the beginning, and were missing for a while, were found afterward. The killed and wounded however, were probably more than given above, owing to the scattered engagements, distinct from that upon the hill. In the several skirmishes which have happened since the junction of Knyphausen, the Americans have taken a number of prisoners, Hessians, Waldeckers and a few British. The Germans were much afraid of being murdered as soon as they were caught, and were very agreeably disappointed on meeting with civility and kindness.

General Howe, having been joined by the troops from lord Percy, made dispositions for attacking the American lines early on the last of October; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented the execution at the time appointed, and it was not attempted afterward though the day proved fair. Gen. Washington gained intelligence of his danger, by a deserter; drew off most of his troops at night; totally evacuated his ^{Nov.} camp early in the morning of November the first; and ^{1.}

* Colonel Glover's letter.

† Board of war.

1776. took higher ground toward the North Castle district, leaving a strong rear guard, on the heights and in the woods of White Plains. An order was given by the British commander to attack this corps; but the execution of it was prevented by a violent rain. Col. Austin of the Massachusetts, who commanded the guards and sentries, being heated with liquor, burnt the town on White Plains, unnecessarily and without any orders.

The British general, perceiving that Washington meant to avoid an engagement, and that the nature of the country would not admit of his being forced, made
 Nov. 2 a sudden and unexpected removal from the several posts
 5- he had taken in the front of the Americans, and advanced toward Kingsbridge and the North River. Gen. Knyphausen had been sent off before, and encamped on the 2d near the bridge on New York Island, the Americans who were in the neighbouring heights having quitted the same, and retired to Fort Washington.

An acceptable break here offers for amusing you with an anecdote or two. Gen. Lee, while at White Plains, lodged in a small house close in with the road, by which gen. Washington had to pass when out on reconnoitring. Returning with his officers they called in and took a dinner. They were no sooner gone, than Lee told his aids, "You must look me out another place, for I shall have Washington and all his puppies continually calling upon me, and they will eat me up." The next day Lee seeing Washington out upon the like business, and supposing that he should have another visit, ordered his servant to write with chalk upon the door—*No victuals dressed here to-day*. When the company approached and saw the writing, they pushed off with much good humor

humor for their own table, without resenting the habitual oddity of the man. 1776.

It happened, that a garden of a widow woman, which lay between the two camps, was robbed at night. Her son, a mere boy and little of his age, asked leave for finding out and securing the pilferer, in case he should return; which being granted, he concealed himself with a gun among the weeds. A British grenadier, a strapping highlander, came and filled his large bag; when he had it on his shoulder, the boy left his covert, came softly behind him, cocked his gun, and called out to the fellow, "You are my prisoner; if you attempt to throw your bag down I will shoot you dead: go forward in that road." The boy kept close to him, threatened, and was alway prepared to execute his threatening. Thus the boy drove him into the American camp, where he was secured. When the grenadier was at liberty to throw down his bag, and saw who had made him prisoner, he was most horridly mortified, and exclaimed—"A British grenadier made prisoner by such a d——d brat—by such a d——d brat." The American officers were highly entertained with the adventure; made a collection for the boy, and gave him some pounds. He returned fully satisfied with the losses his mother had sustained. The soldier had side arms, but they were of no use, as he could not get rid of his bag*.

General Washington wrote to gen. Greene at Fort 8.
Lee, "Sir, the late passage of the three vessels up the

* Mr. Vanbrugh Livingston of New York told me, he had this from major Ross of Lancaster in Pennsylvania, who saw the soldier brought in.

1776. North River (which we have just received advice of) is so plain a proof of the inefficacy of all the obstructions we have thrown into it, that I cannot but think it will fully justify a change in the disposition which has been made. If we cannot prevent vessels passing up, and the enemy are possessed of the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer, to attempt to hold a post from which the expected benefit cannot be had? I am therefore inclined to think it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington; but as you are on the spot, leave it to you to give such orders as to evacuating Mount Washington, as you judge best, and so far revoking the order given to col. Magaw to defend it to the last. The best accounts from the enemy assure us of a considerable movement among their boats the last evening; and so far as can be collected from the various sources of intelligence, they must design a penetration into Jersey, and fall down upon your post. You will therefore immediately have all the stores, &c. removed, (from your post) which you do not deem necessary for your defence; and as the enemy have drawn great relief, from the forage and provision they have found in the country, and which our tenderness spared, you will do well to prevent their receiving any fresh supplies there, by destroying it, if the inhabitants will not drive off their stock, and remove the hay, grain, &c. in time. Experience has shown, that a contrary conduct is not of the least advantage to the poor inhabitants, from whom all their effects of every kind are taken without distinction, and without the least satisfaction. Troops are filing off from hence as fast as
our

our circumstances and situation will admit, in order to 1776.
be transported over the river with all expedition."

The next day, gen. Greene answered. "Sir,—Upon the whole I cannot help thinking the garrison (at Fort Washington) is of advantage; and I cannot conceive it to be in any great danger; the men can be brought off at any time; but the stores may not be so easily removed; yet I think they can be got off in spite of the enemy, if matters grow desperate. This post is of no importance only in conjunction with Mount Washington. I was over there the last evening, and the enemy seem to be disposing matters to besiege the place; but col. Magaw thinks it will take them till December expires before they can carry it. If the enemy do not find it an object of importance, they will not trouble themselves about it: if they do, it is a full proof they feel an injury from our possessing it. Our giving it up will open a free communication with the country by the way of Kingsbridge; that must be a great advantage to them and injury to us."

Within a few days, gen. Washington crossed the North Nov.
River with part of his army, and stationed himself in the 12.
neighbourhood of Fort Lee. The troops left at North
Castle under gen. Lee, were 7500 strong, including the 14.
3000 militia of gen. Lincoln's division (whose time of service ended on the 17th) and 1700 of gen. Fellows's brigade (whose service ended on the 1st of Dec.) As the dissolution of the army was approaching apace with the end of the year, gen. Washington applied to the Massachusetts for 4000 new militia. Gen. Lee addressed the old 16.
under Lincoln, and conjured the officers and soldiers, as they regarded the sacred cause in which they were engaged,

1776. engaged, to continue in their present posts a few days longer, till Thursday at the most, assuring them it was of the last importance. But they were not to be prevailed upon, though their own commander urged a compliance to the utmost of his power. All except gen. Lincoln, and about 150 privates, went off the next day. Mean while the royal army approached *Fort Washington*, and on the 15th gen. Howe summoned the commanding officer to surrender, who answered, that he would defend himself to the last extremity. Gen. Washington receiving an account of the summons at Hackensack, immediately repaired to Fort Lee, and had partly crossed the North River, when he met gens. Putnam and Greene, who were just returning from thence, and informed him, that the troops were in high spirits, and would make a good defence; it being late at night, he returned. Now was the moment for withdrawing the garrison, and one would think, that as the attack was fixed for the next day, gen. Howe designed by the summons, that it should be taken off the approaching night, and wished by that mean to save the men that he would otherwise lose. But defence had been concluded upon.

Nov. 16. The royal army therefore make four attacks upon the fort the next morning. While they are advancing, gens. Washington, Putnam and Greene, and col. Knox, with their aids, having crossed the river, are making up to it. Some one or other perceiving the danger of their being soon shut in, urges their returning instantly. The commander in chief is hardly persuaded, and complies with reluctance; but the company insist upon it, and prevail. The first attack, on the north side, is conducted by gen. Knyphausen, at the head of two columns of

of Hessians and Waldeckers. The second, on the east side, is led on by gen. Matthew, at the head of the first and second battalions of light infantry, and two battalions of guards, supported by lord Cornwallis with a body of grenadiers and the thirty-third regiment. These forces advance by the East river, and land out of flat boats by Haerlem creek upon the enemy's right. The third attack, intended chiefly as a feint, is conducted by lieut. col. Sterling with the forty-second regiment. The last attack is made by lord Percy with the corps he commands on the south of the island. All the attacks are supported with a numerous, powerful, and well-served artillery.

The Hessians under gen. *Knyphausen*, have a thick wood to pass, where col. Rawlings's regiment of riflemen are posted: a warm engagement commences, and is continued for a considerable time, in which the former are much exposed, and lose in killed and wounded near upon 800 men by that single regiment. Mean while the light infantry land; and are exposed, as before landing, to a very brisk and continual fire from the enemy, who are covered by the rocks and trees among which they are posted. The former however, extricate themselves by clambering up a very steep and rough mountain, when they soon disperse the enemy, and make way for the landing of the rest of the troops without opposition. Lord Percy having carried an advanced work on his side, col. Sterling is ordered to attempt a landing with the forty-second regiment, upon the left of the enemy's lines toward New York; and two battalions of the second brigade are directed to support him. He advances his boats through a heavy fire; and forcing
his

1776. his way up a steep height, gains the summit and takes 170 prisoners, and then penetrates across the island. The detachment from the flying camp of the Americans, having given way and quitted their station, without making a firm stand, col. Magaw leaves the lines, and throws himself into the fort, lest the royal army should get possession of it before him. Col. *Rall*, who leads the right column of gen. Knyphausen's attack, having forced the enemy in the mean time, pushes forward to their advanced works, and lodges his column within a hundred yards of the fort. This done, he summons them to surrender: and upon gen. Knyphausen's appearing, it is agreed, that the troops be considered as prisoners of war, and that the officers shall keep their baggage and side arms.

The number of prisoners, including officers, amounted to 2700, beside those taken by the forty-second regiment. Gen. Greene wished to have been intrusted with the defence of the fort on the day of attack, as did some other generals. He blames col. Magaw for suffering the troops to crowd into the fort, upon their quitting the lines, instead of ordering them to the brow of the hill facing the north, where the Hessians attacked; and is of opinion, that if they had been placed there, the royal army might have been kept off till night, when the troops might have been removed. But the capital mistake was, their not having been removed the preceding night.

While the attack was carrying on, a capt. Gooch boldly ventured to cross over from Fort Lee with a letter from gen. Washington to col. Magaw, acquainting him, that if he could hold out till night, the garrison should
be

be taken off. He delivered the letter, pushed through the fire of the enemy, preferring that danger to being made a prisoner, and escaped unhurt. Gen. Washington could view several parts of the attack; and when he saw his men bayonnetted, and in that way killed while begging quarter, he cried with the tenderness of a child, and exclaimed at the barbarity that was practised. His heart has not been yet steeled by plunging into acts of cruelty. When gen. Lee read the letter sent by express, giving an account of Fort Washington's being taken, repentment and vexation led him, unfeeling as he was in common, to weep plentifully. He wrote on the 19th to the commander in chief, " Oh! general, why would you be over-persuaded by men of inferior judgment to your own? It was a cursed affair." He had exclaimed before, upon hearing that the defence of it was to be risked, " Then we are undone."

From the moment it was apparent, that the British ships could safely pass up and down the North river, in defiance of all the obstructions thrown in the channel, and of the forts Washington and Lee, the American commander concluded that these were no longer eligible, and that Fort Washington ought to be evacuated while it could be done; which occasioned his letter of the 8th. When he came to Fort Lee, soon after crossing the North river, he found no measures had been taken toward such evacuation, in consequence of that letter. Gen. Greene, of whose judgment he entertained a good opinion, decidedly opposed it; other opinions coincided with Greene's; it was thought politic to waste the campaign without coming to a general action on the one hand, and without suffering the enemy to overrun the country

1776. country on the other; every impediment, which stood in their way, was judged a mean to answer these purposes, and when thrown into the scale with those opinions which were opposed to evacuation, caused that warfare in the mind of the commander in chief, and that hesitation, which have ended in the loss of the garrison. The advisability of attempting to hold the post being repugnant to his own judgment, the event which has happened fills him with the greater regret. But he will exhibit an instance of generosity and magnanimity, by submitting silently to all the censure that may be cast upon him, sooner than injure the characters of those whose advice has ensnared him.

It is imagined on good grounds, that the royal army lost in the attack full 1200 men, in killed and wounded. The next object that engaged their attention was *Fort Lee*, situated upon a neck of land about ten miles long, running up the North river on the one side, and on the other bounded by the Hackinsack, and the English neighbourhood a branch of it, neither of which are fordable near the fort. The neck joins the main land almost opposite to the communication between the North and East rivers at Kingsbridge. On the 18th, in the morning, lord *Cornwallis*, by means of boats which entered the North river through this communication, landed near Closter, only a mile and a half from the English neighbourhood. His force consisted of the first and second battalions of light infantry, two companies of Chasseurs, two battalions of British, and two ditto of Hessian grenadiers, two battalions of guards, and the thirty-third and forty-second regiments. The account of this movement was brought to gen. *Greene* while in bed. Without

out waiting for gen. Washington's orders, he directed ^{1776.} the troops to march immediately, and secure their retreat by possessing themselves of the English neighbourhood; he sent off at the same time, information to gen. *Washington* at Hackinsack town. Having gained the ground and drawn up the troops in face of the enemy, he left them under the command of gen. Washington; and returned to pick up the stragglers and others, whom to the amount of about 300, he conveyed over the Hackinsack to a place of safety. By this decided movement of gen. Greene's, 3000 Americans escaped; the capture of whom, at this period, must have proved ruinous. Lord Cornwallis's intent was evidently to form a line across from the place of landing to Hackinsack bridge, and thereby to hem in the whole garrison between the North and Hackinsack rivers: but gen. Greene was too alert for him. His lordship had but a mile and a half to march, whereas it was four miles from Fort Lee to the road, approaching the head of the English neighbourhood, where the other amused his lordship, till gen. Washington arrived, and by a well-concerted retreat, secured the bridge over the Hackinsack. But though the men were saved, some hundred barrels of flour, most of the cannon, and a considerable part of their tents and baggage, were taken; beside the trifling number of ninety-nine privates, and six officers and staff.

General Washington retreated to *Newark*, where his ^{22.} whole force consisted of no more than 3500 men. He considered the cause as in the greatest danger; and said to col. Reed, "Should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us?" The colonel answered, "If the lower counties are subdued,

1776. and give up, the back counties will do the same." The general passed his hand over his throat, and said, "My neck does not feel as though it was made for a halter. We must retire to Augusta county in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety; and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war: and if overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountains." The general, after tarrying near a week without being molested, obtained information of lord Cornwallis's being in pursuit of him; he therefore marched Nov. for Brunswick, leaving Newark the very morning that
28. his lordship entered it. As his lordship's van advanced to *Brunswick*, by a forced march on the first of December, gen. Washington retreated to Princeton, having first delayed its passing the Rariton by breaking down a part of Brunswick bridge, and so secured his troops from being harassed. Lord Cornwallis, having orders not to advance beyond Brunswick, discontinued his pursuit: but sent an express to gen. Howe at New York, acquainting him, that by continuing it briskly he could entirely disperse the army under gen. Washington, and seize his heavy baggage and artillery, before he could pass the Delaware. Gen. Howe returned for answer, that he would be with him in person immediately*; but did not join him till the sixth. Gen. Washington hoped to have made a stand at Brunswick, but was disappointed in his expectation of the militia: on the day he quitted it, the service of the Jersey and Maryland brigades expired, and neither of them would stay an hour longer; he wrote therefore to gen. Lee, "hasten your march as much as possible, or your arrival may be too

* Loyalist's letter, Nov. 10, 1777.

late." On the 7th, lord Cornwallis's corps marched to 1776.
Princeton, which the Americans quitted the same day.
 The next day the corps marched in two divisions; the Dec.
 first advanced to Trenton, and reached the *Delaware* 8.
 just as the rear guard of gen. Washington's army, under
 col. Henley, gained the opposite shore about twelve
 o'clock at night.

Lord Cornwallis, who halted with the rear division within six miles of Trenton, intended crossing a body very early the next morning, near two miles below Corriel's ferry; and got the troops in readiness, and the artillery prepared to cover the landing; for at that place it was only eight and twenty rod to a spit of sand on the Pennsylvania side, on which a sufficient number were to have landed, and then to have marched up to Corriel's ferry, and to have taken the boats that had been collected there by the Americans, and left under a guard of only about ten men: with them it was meant to carry over the main body. In the vicinity of this place, a large sunken Durham boat (which came down three days before, laden with flour, and which could carry 100 men) lay concealed under a bank. This had been discovered and taken away by Mr. Mersereau, so that the British were disappointed in their expectation of finding it. They hailed one Thomson, a quaker, who lived on the other side of the Delaware, and inquired what was become of the boat, and were answered it was carried off. They continued reconnoitring up and down the river till ten o'clock, but finding no boats, returned to Pennytown. Men had been employed in time for taking off all the boats from the Jersey side of the Delaware; but Mr. Mersereau's attention would not admit

1776. of his confiding wholly in their care and prudence. He therefore went up the river to examine whether all the boats were really carried off or destroyed; upon discovering the above funken one, which had escaped the observation of the men, and inquiring of a person in the neighbourhood concerning her, he was told that she was an old one and good for nothing; but not relying upon the information, he found her to be new, had the water baled out, and sent her off*. The importance of this affair to the Americans, prevents the relation of it from being trifling. Had lord Cornwallis crossed into Pennsylvania as he proposed, the consequence would probably have been fatal to the Americans. Gen. Washington, when he crossed, had about 2200 men: but the time of their service expiring, they left him in such a manner, that the second day after crossing he had but seventeen hundred.

The militia of Jersey had timely notice given them; and had they stept forth in season, might have enabled gen. Washington to have prevented lord Cornwallis crossing the Hackinsack: but either disaffection, or the want of exertion in the principal gentlemen of the country (through depression of spirit at the threatening appearances that existed) or a fatal supineness and insensibility of danger, increased the actual evil, and made it absolutely necessary for gen. Washington to quit the Jerseys, and seek security on the other side of the Delaware. To whatever cause it was owing, the inhabitants almost to a man refused to turn out, so that he could not at any time bring more of them together than 1000

* Mr. Mesferreau, afterward an American deputy commissary of prisoners, was my informer.

men, and even on these very little dependence was to be put. The proclamation issued the 30th of November by lord Howe and gen. Howe, as the king's commissioners, added to gen. Washington's difficulties. In that, they commanded all persons assembled in arms against his majesty's government, to disband and return to their dwelling; and all general or provincial congresses, &c. to desist from all their treasonable actings, and to relinquish all their usurped power. They declared that every person, who, within 60 days, should appear before the governor, lieut. governor, or commander in chief of any of his majesty's colonies, or before the general or commanding officer of his majesty's forces, &c. and claim the benefit of the proclamation, and testify his obedience to the laws by subscribing a certain declaration, should obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons, &c. by him committed, and of all forfeitures and penalties for the same. Numbers, who had been provincial congress-men, committee-men, justices and the like, though out of the way of immediate danger, ran to take the advantage of the proclamation. Many of the whigs shifted about. Only a few of fortune stood firm to the cause. It was the middle rank of people in general that remained steadfast in this day of trial. The success of the royal army extended its influence also to Pennsylvania. Mr. Galloway, the family of the Allens, with some others, repaired to the commissioners to claim the benefits of the general pardon.

General *Lee*, with more than 3000 men, though repeated expressses were sent to him, continued in the rear of the royal forces, marching so slowly that Washington could not account for it. It at length proved fatal to

1776. his personal liberty. While he lay carelessly and without a guard at *Baskingridge*, some way distant from the main body, he was made prisoner. The circumstances of his situation were communicated to col. *Harcourt*, commanding the light horse, and who had then made a desultory excursion at the head of a small detachment, to observe the motions of that body. The colonel conducted with such address and activity, as to captivate and carry off the general. The capture was considered by the British officers as a matter of the greatest consequence. Their words were, "We have taken the American palladium;" such was the opinion they had of the general deficiency of military skill among the Americans, and the inexperience of their officers. The command of the troops, after Lee's capture, fell to gen. Sullivan; who soon after crossed the Delaware, and joined gen. Washington. The general needed this reinforcement, notwithstanding his having been joined by the Philadelphia militia. He had sent gen. Mifflin to Philadelphia, while retreating before lord Cornwallis: and on the 27th of November, there was a large and general town meeting, when the intelligence of the probability of gen. Howe's invading the state was communicated, as also the request of congress, that the militia of the cities and counties might march to the Jerseys. Gen. *Mifflin*, who was detained by congress for the purpose, enforced it by a spirited, animating, and affectionate address to his fellow citizens; who expressed their approbation of the measure proposed, and soon marched forward some hundreds of militia to join the commander in chief. After that, gen. Mifflin left Philadelphia by the direction of congress, who knew of what

Dec.
13.

what importance his influence was, and repaired to the ¹⁷⁷⁶ back counties, where his exertions were equally successful, so that they poured in their yeomanry in support of the common cause.

The royal forces lay much scattered in the Jerseys, ¹⁴ and to all appearance in a state of security. Gen. Washington wished to strike them; sensible that a lucky blow in that quarter, would be fatal to them, and most certainly raise the spirits of the people, which were quite sunk by the late misfortunes; but prudence would not admit of it. The Pennsylvania militia were ordered to Bristol; and the remainder of the troops were cantoned along the Delaware, so as to oppose any attempts of the royalists to cross it.

Should it be true, as reported, that the American general once wept, while he fled through the Jerseys, that will not prove the want of personal fortitude. He is neither less, nor more than man. Agitation of mind, occasioned by the threatening state of public liberty, and a reflection on the horrid calamities that would follow the loss of it to the present and future generations, might produce that event, without any mixture of private concern for his own safety.

During the royal successes in the Jerseys, gen. *Clinton*, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of men of war under Sir *Peter Parker*, was sent to attempt *Rhode Island*. The American forces, being incapable of making effectual resistance, abandoned it on his approach; so that, on the day when gen. Washington crossed the Delaware, the British took possession of it without any loss, and at the same time

1776. blocked up commodore Hopkins's Squadron and a number of privateers at Providence.

Let me now offer you a summary account of the captures made by gen. Howe and the forces under his command, during the campaign, down to the total evacuation of the Jerseys. Of privates there have been made prisoners 4101, of officers 304, and of staff 25, in all 4430. The catalogue of ordnance and military stores stands thus—Brass ordnance 1 thirteen inch mortar—1 ten ditto—4 five and a half inch howitzers—5 six pounders—1 three ditto. Iron ordnance—2 thirteen inch mortars—1 ten ditto—1 eight ditto—30 thirty-two pounders—6 twenty-four ditto—8 eighteen ditto—24 twelve ditto—26 nine ditto—40 six ditto—55 four ditto—16 three ditto—26 dismounted: Brass ordnance 12;—Iron ditto 235. Shells empty, 210 thirteen inch—1255 ten ditto—1535 eight ditto—1908 five and a half ditto—1907 1 four and two-fifths ditto—total 23979: shells filled with fuses drove—5 thirteen inch—12 ten ditto—30 eight ditto—53 five and a half ditto—45 four two-fifths ditto—total, 145: Shot, 2052 thirty-two pounders—9300 twenty-four ditto—548 eighteen ditto—3979 twelve ditto—332 six ditto—911 three ditto—total, 17122: double headed shot of all sorts 2684: grape quilted, 140 thirty-two and twelve pounders, beside 42 boxes; case of all forts 813, with powder 44: Muskets of all forts 2800: Cartridges 400,000: Barrels of powder 16: Iron Frize of four hundred weight each, intended to stop the navigation of the North River 200: Bar iron 20 tons: rod 5: Intrenching tools of all sorts 500: Sets of armourers tools 6: Breast-plates for engineers armour 35: Waggon covered 4: Hand bar-

rows 200 : a gwyn complete : 2 sling carts : iron crows 1776.
 6 : mantelets 52 : chevaux de Frize complete 81 : be-
 side 4000 barrels of flour at forts Washington and Lee ;
 baggage, tents, long pikes, ammunition carts, and a
 large quantity of other stores of various kinds. These
 losses to the Americans are very considerable ; but to
 the British are of small advantage. The civil affairs of
 New York may now engage our notice. On the 16th
 of October, the inhabitants of the city and island, pre-
 sented a petition to lord Howe and gen. Howe, signed
 by David Horsfenden, Oliver Delancy, and 946 others,
 declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgment of
 the *constitutional*, but not absolute, *supremacy* of Great
 Britain over the colonies, and praying that the city and
 county may be restored to his majesty's peace and pro-
 tection. This petition was followed by another to the
 same purpose, from the freeholders and inhabitants of
 Queen's county in Long Island. It is observed of these
 petitions, that they are guardedly expressed, all mention
 of parliament being omitted, and the great question of
 unconditional submission left totally at large. Let it be
 remarked, that though the inhabitants of York Island
 and Queen's county have given every testimony of their
 loyalty, their petitions have not been attended to, nor
 they restored to the rights expected, in consequence of
 the declarations, as well as of the law for the appoint-
 ment of commissioners.

Let us pass to the southern states ; and from thence
 travel northward, gathering up as we return all the intel-
 ligence that offers.

In the month of July, an invasion of East Florida
 was projected, with the double view of securing Georgia
 and

1776. and South Carolina from the depredations of their more southern neighbours; and of drawing the attention of the British from their northern conquests. Gen. Lee was intrusted with this business, soon after the repulse of the British under Sir Peter Parker. After the troops had proceeded as far as Ogeechee in Georgia, the general received orders to rejoin the northern army, on which the expedition was given up.

While the general was at Savannah, he wrote a letter, on the 28th of August, to the French minister, which was committed to *Sieur de la Plaine*. In that letter he held up these ideas—That it was the exclusive commerce of the colonies, which empowered Great Britain to cope with France; gave to her a decided superiority in the marine department, and of course enabled her, in the frequent wars between the two nations, to reduce her rival to the last extremity:—That if France can obtain the monopoly, or the greatest part of this commerce, her opulence, strength and prosperity, must grow to a prodigious height; and that if America is enabled to preserve the independence she has now declared, the greatest part of this commerce must fall to the share of France:—That without the colour of injustice; but on the contrary, only assuming the patronage of the rights of mankind; France has it now in her power to become not only the greatest, but the most glorious monarchy, which has appeared on the stage of the world—her possessions in the islands will be secured against all possibility of attack, the royal revenues immensely increased, her people eased of her present burdens, an eternal incitement be presented to their industry, and the means of increase, by the facility of providing sustenance for
their

their families, multiplied; in short, there is no saying, ^{1776.} what degree of eminence, happiness, and glory, she may derive from the independence of this continent:—That some visionary writers have asserted, that could this country once shake off her European trammels, it would soon become more formidable alone from the virtue and energy natural to a young people, than Great Britain can be with her colonies united in a state of dependency: but the men who have built such hypotheses must be utter strangers to the manners, genius, disposition, turn of mind, and circumstances of the continent. As long as vast tracts of land remain unoccupied, to which they can send colonies (if I may so express it) of their offspring, they will never entertain thought of marine or manufactures; their ideas are solely confined to labor, and to plant for those nations, who can on the cheapest terms furnish them with the necessary utensils for laboring, and planting, and clothes for their families; and till the whole vast extent of continent is fully stocked with people, they will never entertain another idea:—That this cannot be effected for ages, and what may then happen is out of the line of politicians to lay any stress upon: most probably they will be employed in wars among themselves, before they aim at foreign conquests:—That it is worthy of attention, what will be the consequence should Great Britain succeed in the present contest; America will be wretched and enslaved; but a number of slaves may compose a formidable army and fleet, and the proximity of situation, with so great a force entirely at the disposal of Great Britain, will put it into her power to take possession of the French islands on the first rupture:—That it is for the interest as well

1776. as the glory of France, to furnish the Americans with every mean of supporting their liberties, to effect which they only demand a constant systematic supply of the necessaries of war, small arms, powder, field pieces, woollens and linens to clothe their troops, with drugs, particularly bark, in return for which every necessary provision for the French islands may be expected, as corn, rice, lumber, &c. If indeed the French could spare a few able engineers and artillery officers, they may depend upon an honorable reception, and comfortable establishment.

The *Carolínians* have been engaged in a successful war with the *Cherokees*, for the origin of which we must go back to the year 1775. John Stuart, esq; an officer of the crown, and wholly devoted to the royal interest, had for years, the exclusive management of both them and the Creeks. When the appearance of a rupture between Great Britain and the colonies took place, he conceived himself under obligations to attach the Indians to the royal interest. The state of public affairs in the colonies furnished him with many arguments subservient to this design. It was easy for him to persuade them, that the colonists had, unprovoked by Britain, adopted measures which prevented the Indians from receiving their yearly supply of arms, ammunition and clothing. He might also insinuate, that if the colonists succeeded in opposing Britain, they would probably aim next at the extirpation of the Indians. A plan was at length settled by Mr. Stuart, in concert with the king's governors and other royal servants, to land a British army in Florida, and to proceed with it to the western frontiers of the southern colonies, and there, in conjunction with the Tories and
Indians,

Indians, to fall on the friends of congress at the same time that a fleet and army should invade them on the coast. Mr. Moses Kirkland, who has already been mentioned (p. 102) was confidentially employed by Mr. Stuart, governor Tonyn, and other royalists to the southward, to concert with gen. Gage the necessary means for accomplishing the above plan. The whole was fully detected by the providential capture of the vessel which was conveying Kirkland to Boston toward the close of 1775. The publication of the letters found in his possession produced conviction in the minds of the Americans, that the British administration meant to employ the Indians for the effecting of their schemes. The discovery of the ministerial designs, made it necessary for congress to attend to such measures as might effectually counteract the influence of Mr. Stuart. A meeting of their Indian commissioners with the Cherokees was appointed at Fort Charlotte in South Carolina, and took place on the 22d of April, when about 630 were present. The Cherokees complained heavily of sundry encroachments made on them by the white people; which gave them the greatest uneasiness. When the commissioners came to make their presents, the Indians were displeased at the small quantity of goods and ammunition delivered to them. The commissioners pleaded, that they did not expect to meet with so great a number: and promised, that if the presents were received, they would try to purchase a few more and send them. The Cherokees were not satisfied with the proposal. The commissioners, without goods, were little more than cyphers. Talks alone, if ever so flattering, do not answer. Foreign manufactures were to the Indians indispensably

1776. pensably requisite ; and it was not to be thought that they could prefer American friendship, naked and hungry ; to British attended with all the necessaries and comforts of life. The British had carried great quantities of goods even to their towns. On the 27th, the congress commissioners met at Augusta in Georgia, in expectation of the Creeks, who did not attend till the 16th of May, and then amounted to about 350, when a few presents were given them. They were either satisfied, or stifled their resentments, from political principles, so as to decline hostilities. But the Cherokees being disgusted, and abandoned to the full operation of the royal superintendant's influence, began their massacres at the very time Sir Peter Parker attacked the fort on Sullivan's island. The speedy departure of the fleet from the sea-coast, after his unsuccessful attack, gave an opportunity for uniting the whole force of South Carolina against the invaders of the country. Though the British plan of a co-operation with the tories and Indians was for the present frustrated ; yet the probability that it would be again resumed, determined the popular leaders to make a vigorous expedition into the country of the Cherokees. A joint attack on their settlements over the mountains was agreed upon by the southern states. Col. Williamson, of the district of Ninety-six, was chosen by the government of South Carolina to command their forces on this occasion. The sixth regular regiment, part of the third, and a large body of militia, were appointed to serve under him. About the same time, and on the same business, gen. Rutherford, with upward of 1900 men from North Carolina, crossed the Apalachian mountains. In their passage through the Indian country, the forces

forces under col. Williamson were two or three times 1776. briskly attacked, but finally repulsed the Indians. The Americans upon this occasion traversed their whole country, and laid waste their corn-fields. Above 500 of the Cherokees were obliged, for want of provisions, to take refuge with Mr. John Stuart in West Florida, where they were fed at the expence of the British government. The Indian settlements to the northward were at the same time invaded by a party of Virginia militia, commanded by col. Christee, and to the southward by the Georgia militia under col. Jack. Dismal was the wilderness through which the Americans had to penetrate. Many were the dangers that they were exposed to from dark thickets, and rugged paths. They were frequently obliged to pass through narrow defiles, in which small parties might harass the bravest and most numerous army. They had to cross rivers, fordable only at one place, and overlooked by high banks, from whence an enemy might attack with advantage, and retreat with safety. They could have no accommodations, but a few plain necessities carried on pack-horses. They, for the most part, slept in the open air, and experienced all the inconveniencies of a savage life.

None of all the expeditions before undertaken against the Indians had been so successful as this first effort of the new-born commonwealth. In less than three months, viz. from the 15th of July to the 11th of October, the business was completed, and the nation of the Cherokees so far subdued, as to be incapable of annoying the settlements. The whole ¹⁰⁰⁰ of the Americans did not exceed fifty men.

The

1776. The means adopted by the British to crush the friends of congress, have been providentially over-ruled, so as to produce the contrary effect. Their exciting Indians to massacre the defenceless frontier settlers, promoted the unanimity of the inhabitants, and invigorated their opposition to Great Britain. Several who called themselves tories in 1775, have become active whigs, and cheerfully taken up arms in the first instance against Indians, and in the second against Great Britain, as the instigator of their barbarous devastations. Before this event, some well meaning people could not see the justice of contending with their formerly protecting parent-state; but Indian cruelties, excited by ministerial artifices, soon extinguished all their predilection for the country of their forefathers*.

Aug. The delegates of *Maryland*, assembled in full convention the 14th of August, have agreed upon the constitution and form of government for that state; to which they have prefixed a declaration of rights. The convention of the *Delaware* state, formerly stiled, "The government of the counties of Newcastle, Kent and Suffex upon Delaware," after a declaration of rights, resolved upon their constitution in September. When the deputations, from the committees of the several counties, met in Philadelphia, they agreed upon the number the general convention should consist of, the time they should meet, and the manner in which they should be elected. No person was excluded from voting: many however, as must have been expected, chose to exclude themselves, as they would not appear by voting to countenance the establishing of a new mode of government.

* See Doctor Ramsay's History, Vol. I. p. 153—161.

The convention met the 15th of July, and continued 1776. by adjournments to the 28th of September, during which period the constitution was settled by a declaration of rights and a frame of government.

Great numbers in Pennsylvania are not satisfied with their constitution, apprehending that it possesses too great a proportion of democracy; and that the state is not sufficiently guarded against either the evils which may result from the prevalency of a democratic party, or the dangerous influence of demagogues. Mr. Samuel Adams has been thought, or known to have concerned himself so unduly in the business, as to have provoked some to drop distant hints of an assassination. While the constitution was forming, a motion was made to add a second assembly to the legislative body under the name of a senate or council. It was argued by several members, some for the affirmative, and some for the negative. Before the question was put, the opinion of the president, Dr. Franklin, was requested. He rose, and said, that "Two assemblies appeared to him, like a practice he had somewhere seen, of certain waggoners who, when about descending a steep hill, with a heavy load, if they had four cattle, took off one pair from before, and chaining them to the hinder part of the waggon, drove them up hill; while the pair before, and the weight of the load, overbalancing the strength of those behind, drew them slowly and moderately down the hill." The simile drew the generality of the convention into an opinion, that the doctor was for a single assembly, and it wrought accordingly. Some imagine however, that the answer was designedly that of a Delphic oracle, to be taken either way, as inclination might dictate the interpretation.

1776. pretation. "The real force of the simile was certainly misunderstood; if there is any similitude, or any argument in it, it is clearly in favor of two assemblies. The weight of the load itself would roll the waggon on the oxen, and the cattle on one another, in one scene of destruction, if the forces were not divided and a balance formed; whereas by checking one power by another (as was the wish of those who were for a second assembly) all descend the hill in safety, and avoid the danger*."

We cannot quit Philadelphia without making mention of the acts of congress. It has been resolved to confiscate the property of the subjects of Great Britain, taken on the high seas, or between high and low water mark; but the inhabitants of the Bermudas, and Providence or Bahama islands are excepted. Gen. Washington has been empowered to agree to the exchange of governor Skeen for Mr. Lovell, who was made close prisoner at Boston by order of gen. Howe; and to whose inflexible fidelity to his country congress bore testimony the beginning of January. Mr. Lovell contrived to send out intelligence to the Americans, while investing Boston; and the reasonable suspicion of it, without positive proof, might occasion his confinement. Commodore Hopkins has been censured for not paying a regard to the tenor of his instructions, which directed him to annoy the enemy's ships upon the coasts of the southern states: and his reasons for not going from Providence immediately to the Carolinas have been declared by no means satisfactory. To prevail on the foreign officers, if possible, to quit the royal army, congress have proposed, upon their choosing to become citizens of the states, to give to

* Mr. Adams's Defence of the American Constitutions, p. 106—
108.

them and their heirs in absolute dominion; unappropriated ^{1776.} lands in the following proportions: to a colonel, 1000 acres; to a lieut. colonel, 800; to a major, 600; to a captain, 400; to a lieutenant, 300; to an ensign, 200; and to every non-commissioned person, 100. They complied with gen. Howe's proposal of exchanging gen. Sullivan for gen. Prescott, and lord Stirling for gen. McDonald, on the 4th of September.

They resolved upon raising eighty-eight battalions to ^{Sept.} serve during the war, and agreed upon bounties to all ^{16,} who enlist during that term, unless sooner discharged. The enlistment is further encouraged by a proposal for granting lands; each non-commissioned officer and soldier is to have 100 acres; a colonel, 500; and the other officers in proportion. The congressional offer of lands, whether to foreigners or natives, is no present actual expence, as the event, of the war must determine whose they will be: but the proposal may counteract the effect of a similar measure, adopted by the British government, which has engaged to grant large tracts of vacant lands at the close of the troubles, to the highland emigrants and other new troops raised in America, as a reward for their expected zeal and loyalty in the reduction of the country. It may also destroy the influence of intimations thrown out to the mercenaries, of their being to be rewarded in like manner. The appointment of all officers in the battalions, and filling up vacancies, (except general officers) is left to the governments of the several states; every state has its respective quota assigned, which it is to furnish with arms, clothing, and every necessary. The quotas will never be answerable in the numbers of men to the number of the battalions,

1776. so that the actual strength of the continental forces will be far short of the appearance.

Sept. 26. It being resolved to appoint three commissioners to the court of *France*, congress ballotted and elected Messrs. *Franklin*, *Deane* and *Jefferson*. Dr. Franklin, notwithstanding his great age, was unanimously elected. Dr. Rush sat next him when the choice was announced, and was the first in congratulating him; the reply was, "I am old and good for nothing, but as the shopkeepers say of their fragments of cloth, you may have me *for what you please*." Mr. Deane was so little in the good graces of his own state, that it was the only one out of the thirteen, that declined voting for him. He had been before appointed by the secret committee, commercial agent with Mr. Thomas Morris, and moreover *political* agent; and had arrived in France so long back as in June. This appointment was a natural introduction to his being elected one of the commissioners. Mr. Jefferson having declined, through a present incapacity for going, Mr. *Arthur Lee* has been chosen in his room.

Congress may have been encouraged to this measure, by a letter of last June to Dr. Franklin, wherein his correspondent writes, "I have been at Versailles to see the ministers, and every thing which approaches them. I have obtained among other things, under the name of Mr. de la Tuillerie, the undertaker of a manufactory of arms, that there shall be delivered to him immediately, from the king's arsenals, fifteen thousand muskets for the use of infantry, to be employed in his commerce, on condition that he replaces them in the run of a year. I hope your brave soldiers will be pleased with them; but you must caution them not to trust to
the

the ordinary muskets of commerce, which are called ^{1776.} muskets for exportation, that are almost as dangerous to friends as to enemies." But without such or any other direct encouragement, they must have adopted the measure through the urgency of their affairs. The commissioners are to arm and fit for war any number of vessels not exceeding six, at the expence of the United States, to war upon British property, provided it will not be disagreeable to the court of France. There has been approved in congress a plan of a treaty with his most christian majesty, which has been delivered to the commissioners with instructions to the following purport—

" You are to use every mean in your power for concluding a treaty conformable to the plan you have received. If you shall find that to be impracticable, you are hereby authorized to relax the demands of the United States, and to enlarge the offers agreeable to the subsequent directions. The eighth article will probably be attended with some difficulty. If you find his most christian majesty determined not to agree to it, you are empowered to add to it as follows: " That the United States will never be subject, or acknowledge allegiance, or obedience to the king, or crown, or parliament of Great Britain, nor grant to that nation any exclusive trade, or any advantages, or privileges in trade, more than to his most christian majesty, neither shall any treaty for terminating the present war between the king of Great Britain and the United States, or any war which may be declared by the king of Great Britain against his most christian majesty, in consequence of this treaty, take effect until the expiration of six calendar months after the negotiation for that purpose shall have been duly

1776. notified, in the former instance by the United States to his most christian majesty, and in the other instance by his most christian majesty to the United States, to the end that both these parties may be included in the peace if they think proper." If his majesty should be unwilling to agree to the 16th and 26th articles, you are directed to consent, that the goods and effects of the enemy on board the ships and vessels of either party, shall be liable to seizure and confiscation.—You will solicit the court of France for an immediate supply of twenty or thirty thousand muskets and bayonets, and a large supply of ammunition and brass field pieces to be sent under convoy by France. The United States engage for the payment of the arms, artillery and ammunition, and to indemnify France for the expence of the convoy.—It is highly probable that France means not to let the United States sink in the present contest; but as the difficulty of obtaining true accounts of our condition, may cause an opinion to be entertained, that we are able to support the war on our own strength and resources longer in fact than we can do, it will be proper for you to press for the immediate and explicit declaration of France in our favor, upon a *suggestion* that a re-union with Great Britain may be the consequence of a delay.—Should Spain be disinclined to our cause, from an apprehension of danger to her dominions in South America, you are empowered to give the strongest assurances, that that crown will receive no molestation from the United States in the possession of these territories."

" You will transmit to us, the most speedy and full intelligence of your progress in the business, and of any other

other transactions that it may import us to know. You^{1776.} are desired to get the best and earliest information that you possibly can, of any negotiation that the court of London may be carrying on for obtaining foreign mercenaries to be sent against these states the next campaign: and if any such design is in agitation, you will endeavour to prevail with the court of France to exert its influence, in the most effectual manner, to prevent the execution of such designs. You are desired to obtain, as early as possible, a public acknowledgment of the independency of these states on the crown and parliament of Great Britain by the court of France."

"In conducting this important business, the congress have the greatest confidence in your address, abilities, vigilance, and attachment to the interests of the United States, and wish you every success."

Though it has not been already mentioned, yet as far back as July, the congress refused to ratify the cartel settled between gen. *Arnold* and capt. *Forster* at the *Cedars*. They declared gen. *Arnold's* agreement to be no more than a sponson, subject to be ratified or annulled, at their discretion, he not being invested with powers for the disposal of prisoners not in his possession, nor under his direction: and refused to deliver the prisoners to be returned on their part, till the British commander in Canada delivered into their hands the authors and abettors of the murders committed on the American prisoners, and made indemnification for the plunder at the *Cedars*, taken contrary to the faith of the capitulation. Thus the hostages have been left in Canada unredeemed. Capt. Sullivan has written to his brother the general, from Montreal, August the 14th, and expressed his

B b 4

surprise

1776. surprise at hearing that congress, instead of redeeming him and the other hostages according to the cartel, had demanded capt. Forster to be delivered up; and declared in the most solemn manner, that not a man living could have used more humanity than capt. Forster did, after the surrender of the party to which he belonged. Such gentlemen of the army as speak of it at head quarters, seem to wish the treaty had been ratified rather than disallowed; and the commander in chief appears to be like minded.

Oct.

1.

General Mifflin was requested to resume the office of quarter master general, and it was resolved, that his rank and pay as brigadier should be continued. Congress determined upon borrowing five millions of continental dollars for the use of the United States, and the faith of the states is pledged for the payment of principal and interest. To encourage gentlemen of abilities, to engage as commission-officers in the battalions to be raised, the pay from the colonel to the ensign is to be increased. It has also been recommended to the respective states, to use their utmost endeavours, that all the officers to be appointed, be men of honor and known abilities, without a particular regard to their having before been in service.

17. Mr. Duché having by letter informed the president that the state of his health, (probably influenced by the bad aspect of the American cause) and his parochial duties were such, as obliged him to decline the honor of continuing chaplain to congress, they resolved that the president return the thanks of the house, for the devout and acceptable manner in which he discharged his duty, during the time he officiated; and that 150 dollars be

presented to him, as an acknowledgment of his services. 1776.
 In about a fortnight he expressed his obligations to congress in a polite letter, and requested, as he accepted their appointment from motives perfectly disinterested, that the money voted him, might be applied to the relief of the widows and children of such of the Pennsylvania officers, as have fallen in the service of their country. Several French officers have been commissioned: the chevalier Matthias Alexis Roche de Fermoy, upon applying to be employed, was appointed a brigadier general. Dr. Franklin sailed for France on the twenty-seventh. 27.

Congress agreed upon the scheme of a lottery, by Nov. which they mean to raise a sum of money for defraying 18. the expences of the next campaign. The recruiting service proving very unsuccessful, they resolved, that each 21. state be at liberty to direct their recruiting officers to enlist their men either for the war, or three years. The reduced state of the army, together with the successes and superiority of the enemy, put congress upon ordering the president to write to the four New England governments, and request them to use their utmost influence in raising their respective quotas, and to hasten their march with all possible diligence to the places of rendezvous. The Massachusetts assembly have ordered a fourth of the militia to be raised for the reinforcement of the army to the southward, and proposed paying a bounty of 15l. sterling a man, to those of their state who will enlist for three years, or during the war. This proposal however congress could not assent to, as it tended to excite an expectation of the same bounty in the rest of the troops.

The

1776. The probability of the enemy's advancing to Phila.
 Dec. delphia, induced congress to direct gen. Putnam, who
 10. was stationed in the city, immediately to parade the
 several recruits and other continental troops in it, and
 to proceed without delay to make the proper defences
 for its security. The next day, they recommended to
 all the united states as soon as possible to appoint a day of
 fasting and humiliation. It is left to each state to issue
 out proclamations, fixing the day that appears most
 12. proper within its own bounds. On the 12th, generals
 Putnam and Mifflin being called to a conference, and
 having by strong arguments urged the necessity of the
 congress's retiring, it was thereupon resolved to adjourn
 to Baltimore in Maryland, to meet on the 20th instant;
 inasmuch as the movements of the enemy had rendered
 the neighbourhood of Philadelphia the seat of war. Till
 congress should otherwise order, gen. Washington was
 to possess full power to direct all things relative to the
 department, and the operations of war.

It remains, that we take a survey of what has been
 doing to the northward, and under gen. Gates.

July Toward the latter end of July, one lieut. Whitcomb,
 a green mountain boy, who was out with a scouting
 party, was guilty of a most base, and villainous action,
 from no other principle than a desire of plunder.
 He wanted a sword and a watch; and in order to supply
 himself, shot gen. Gordon as he was riding unarmed
 from St. John's toward Chamblee. The general died a
 few days after. This, as was natural, raised the resent-
 ment of Sir Guy Carleton's army. It is pity, that he
 could not have been delivered up instantly to Sir Guy:
 but, through the weakness of government and military
 discipline,

discipline, he will escape deserved punishment. Col. 1776.
Beedle and major Butterfield, instead of being shot for their cowardly conduct in the business of the Cedars, are only cashiered, and rendered incapable of bearing any commission in the army of the United States. The new articles of war agreed upon in September, will subject men to deserved punishment for the future.

When gen. Arnold had reached Crown Point with the army, and the goods he had brought from Montreal, (which he was careful to keep with, all he could) persons soon followed with invoices, and claimed pay for them. Silks and other valuable articles were missing. Gen. Arnold upon this brought col. Hazens before a court martial. He was tried on a charge, that the packages had been pillaged, and the goods lost, through his refusing to take care of them. The colonel was honorably acquitted; but such was the behaviour of the general before the court, in challenging every man of them, and abusing them all, that they demanded of gen. Gates his being put under arrest; the moment the demand was made, gen. Gates thought himself obliged to act dictatorially and to dissolve the court; that so the United States might not be deprived of the services of one, whom he viewed as an excellent officer, at an important period, when they were much wanted. The court however did not dissolve, till they had finished their other business, and given judgment; and had prepared the account of the trial, and put it in the way to be forwarded to gen. Washington or the congress. Gates had fixed upon Arnold to command the American fleet, to be opposed to the British, on Lake Champlain, and therefore would pay no attention to any charges brought
against

1776. against him. Col. Brown complained of him, for ac-
Sept. cusing him of plundering the officers baggage taken at
3. Sorel contrary to the articles of capitulation, and prayed that he might be put under arrest and brought to trial; but it was to no purpose. The command for which Arnold was destined, superseded all other considerations for the present.

The utmost efforts were made on the side of *Canada* by the British, for obtaining a superiority on the lake, and for the reduction of Tyconderoga and Mount Independence. A fleet of above thirty fighting vessels, of different kinds and sizes, had been little less than created; though a few of the largest were re-constructions, having been first framed in Great Britain, then taken to pieces and sent over. Add to this, that a gondola weighing thirty tons, with above four hundred batteaus, had been dragged up the rapids near Chamblee. The objects in view were answerable to all these exertions. If the royal army under Sir Guy Carleton could have forced their way down to, and possessed themselves of Albany before the severity of the winter set in, the northern states would have been exposed, in their most defenceless parts, and have had their communication with the southern cut off, while one between generals Carleton and Howe would have been established; and thus Carleton's army would have had a principal share in the honor of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion.

The Americans had not equal advantages with the British for the construction of vessels. They labored under immense difficulties; and had to bring ship-builders, artillery, and most of the materials for a naval equipment from a great distance. But by an assiduity, per-

severance

everance and spirit, which did not fall short of what was 1776.
employed against them, they had by the 18th of August at Crown Point, 1 sloop, 3 schooners, and 5 gondolas, carrying 55 guns, twelve, nine, six and four pounders, beside 70 swivels, and 395 men; and completely fitted for action. With some or all of these gen. Arnold sailed down the lake to reconnoitre and gain intelligence. He wrote to gen. Gates, "This morning 16, at one o'clock, Antoine Gerouse (his real name was Girard) a Frenchman, whom I sent to St. John's, returned, and gives the following account, viz. that at Isle aux Noix there are three thousand troops encamped, and forty pieces of cannon mounted on their lines—at St. John's three thousand men, one hundred and fifty bateaus, and he was told that two hundred were at Chamblee—that two schooners are completed and manned, one mounting twelve and the other fourteen brass twelve pounders—small vessels on the stocks to carry three guns each—one gondola taken from us, and three new ones built, these to mount three guns each—a number of flat-bottomed boats to carry one gun each, and a floating battery with two masts nearly done, to carry twenty-four eighteen pounders and two mortars. He imagines the whole will be completed in a fortnight. I think him placed as a spy on us; have sent him to you to be disposed of as you think proper. From the accounts of the two men, who have viewed Isle aux Noix, the account of this Frenchman must be false, and a story formed for him by the English officers." The poor Frenchman was put in irons, and sent to Albany. The two men never went to the isle, but made up a story to screen their own baseness: a close and separate examination

1776. nation of them might have detected the imposition. When by their unremitting industry the British entered the lake about the time the Frenchman conjectured, the fleet consisted of the ship *Inflexible*, which had been reconstructed at St. John's, from whence she sailed, in twenty-eight days after laying her keel, and mounted with 18 twelve pounders;—the *Maria* schooner mounting 14 six pounders;—the *Castleton* 12 ditto;—the *Thunderer*, a flat-bottomed radeau, carrying 6 twenty-four pounders, and 6 twelve, beside 2 howitzers;—some gondolas, one having 7 nine pounders;—twenty gun boats, carrying each a brass field piece, from 9 to 24 pounders, and some with howitzers;—and four long boats with each a carriage gun, serving as armed tenders. These were all designed for, or appertained to battle, and were attended with a vast number of vessels, batteaus and boats, destined for the transportation of the army, with its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions. The armament was conducted by capt. *Pringle*, and the fleet navigated by about 700 prime seamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the transports, who boldly and freely partook with the others in the danger of the expedition. The guns were worked by detachments from the corps of artillery. The equipment was well appointed and amply furnished with every thing necessary.

The Americans went on with the greatest possible dispatch, and, before any action could commence, had reinforced gen. *Arnold* with a cutter, 3 galleys, and 3 gondolas, carrying from 4 to 18 pounders. The American force was in no degree equal to the British, either as to the goodness of the vessels, the number of guns, the weight of metal, or other furniture of war. Gen.

Arnold had only two schooners with him, and so but 1776. 15 vessels, when Sir *Guy Carleton* proceeded up the lake, and found him forming a strong line, to defend the passage between Valicour Island and the western main. A warm action ensued, and was vigorously supported on Oa. both sides for some hours; but the wind being unfavorable, the *Inflexible*, with some other vessels of force, could not be worked up, so that the weight of the action fell upon the schooner *Carleton* and the gun boats, which (say the British) they sustained with the greatest firmness, men and officers displaying such extraordinary efforts of resolution as merited and received the highest applause from their commanders. The Americans therefore could not have been deficient in their exertions, but must be entitled to a proportionable share of praise for having made such a formidable resistance. Gen. Waterbury fought most intrepidly, walking upon the quarter deck the whole time; all his officers were killed or wounded, excepting a lieutenant, and the captain of the marines.

The continuance of the impediments, which prevented the *Carleton* and the gun boats being seconded by the *Inflexible* and other vessels, induced capt. Pringle, with the approbation of Sir Guy, to withdraw those that were engaged from the action. Two of their gondolas were sunk, and one blown up with 60 men. The Americans had a schooner burnt, and a gondola sunk. Being now sensible of their inferiority, they took the opportunity of the night for attempting an escape. Gen. Arnold executed his design with ability, and they were out of sight by next morning. But the chase was continued, and one gondola taken on the twelfth. The rest were

1776. were overtaken, and brought to action, a few leagues
 Oct. short of Crown Point, about noon on the thirteenth. A
 13. warm engagement followed. The Washington galley, commanded by gen. Waterbury, had been so shattered, and had so many killed and wounded in the first action, that she struck after receiving a few broad-sides. The Congress galley was attacked by the Inflexible and the two schooners, two under her stern, and one on her broad-side, within musket shot. The British kept up an incessant fire on the Americans for four hours, with round and grape shot, which was returned as briskly. Gen. Arnold was determined, that his people should not become prisoners, nor the vessels a prey to the enemy. He covered the retreat of the few which escaped, at the expence of one third of his crew; and then with equal resolution and dexterity, ran the Congress galley in which he was, with four gondolas, on shore in such a manner, as to land his men safely and blow up the vessels, in spite of every effort to prevent both. Officers and men behaved with the utmost gallantry. Some vessels, when they had lost all their officers, continued fighting, for the crews refused to yield but with their lives. The Americans glory in gen. Arnold's bravery though unsuccessful, and much in the dangerous attention he paid to a nice piece of honor, in keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley, till she was in flames, lest the enemy should have boarded her and struck it. The American fleet consists now of only 2 gallies, 2 schooners, 1 sloop, and 1 gondola, for the eighth is missing.

But though gen. Arnold's bravery is highly applauded, he is thought by many to have been guilty of a great oversight, in not having stationed his fleet just above

Split

Split Rock *, about 35 miles from Ty, so as to have^{1776.} brought the guns of every one of his vessels to have borne upon the British, as they should have passed through singly, which they must have done, from the narrowness of the channel at that place.

On Monday morning the wind came about, and blew^{14.} fresh, after the remainder of the fleet got in, and so continued for eight days, and prevented the enemy's coming up the lake to Ty. Within that period, the Americans made carriages for forty-seven or more pieces of cannon, and mounted them; finished and strengthened their works; surrounded their redoubts with abatis; received a considerable reinforcement, and acquired a preparedness for defence in every quarter. Could the enemy have proceeded immediately on the Monday to Tyconderoga, they must have succeeded. You will be entertained with some sprightly letters written by an officer, at the moment, and upon the spot, to the daughter of a next door neighbour; take the copies of them, and judge who it is that saves the Americans from impending ruin. "Tyconderoga the twentieth of October,^{20.} six o'clock—The returns of the shattered remains of our fleet soon let us know the worst.—A fine story! after all the pompous accounts of your naval superiority.—Fine as it is, Jenny, it is true.—However we did all that men could do, in the time and with the advantages we had.—Can our country expect more?—I would not have you think we are defeated however. The fleet was strong, but our posts are much stronger.—The enemy may give us another defeat—but it will cost

* It is known in the neighbourhood by the name of Split Rock only, though generally put down in the maps Cloven Rock.

1776. them dear.—We expect an attack every moment.—I have been up these two hours, and through the guards and posts—to see them alert and vigilant. We will endeavour not to be surpris'd.—The attack whenever it comes will be furious, and the defence obstinate, cruelly obstinate.—We are busy in making every preparation for the most effectual security of our posts—and shall in two or three days more, have little to fear from an assault.” “Ty—Oct. 21, 1776. The fear is now past Jenny, but not the hurry.—Heaven has been pleased to give us a southerly wind for almost the whole week past—this has allowed us time for a very considerable preparation. We would now gladly be attacked—in two or three more days. The enemy are at Crown Point, and we expect that they may fancy this ground in a day or two; they must pay a great price for it however, as we value it highly.” “Ty—Oct. 27. If we are not attacked within six days, gen. Carleton deserves to be hanged.—We expect him indeed every morning.—We have been favored with a strong southerly wind, almost constantly since the defeat of the fleet—and are now ready.—The enemy have forsaken us—I am not sorry indeed, Jenny.—We should have been much at a loss had they invested us.—An attack we were prepared for, but they must have been madmen, to risque their all on the event of *a day*, when a few weeks perseverance would have given them all they could wish.—How much is gained by chance, or as the doctor will call it, Providence.—They did not happen to know our situation, but supposed we must be *internally*, what our *external* appearance (formidable enough) pronounced us, and what

Oct.
27.

what they, with our advantages, would have been.—Pro- 1776.
vidence indeed, has once more saved us !”

General *Gates* was about 12,000 strong, when the enemy was at Crown Point. Most of the men were effective, many of the troops having recovered. For some days after gen. Arnold's defeat, *Gates* had only two ton of powder, and when he had received a supply, no more than eight. It has been thought, from information gained since, that the enemy sent one of their engineers, disguised like a countryman, into the American camp, as a spy ; and that after two or three hours he returned ; and by his reports might occasion their going off the next day. The day they went off, Mr. Yancey, the commissary general, had no flour in store for the army. Gen. *Gates* sent him out of the way, that as he had no flour to deliver out, the men might be kept easy, under the notion of there being enough in the store, and upon the plea that they should be supplied on his speedy return, but that it would not do to break open the doors. The commissary had not even a barrel under his care. The Yorkers, chiefly of Dutch extraction, inhabiting the neighbourhood of *Lake George*, declined crossing it with the supplies designed for the army, through fear of the Indians. This fear however was needless ; for gen. Carleton, while he allowed them to take prisoners, laid them under strict restraints not to kill and scalp. When he found he could not keep them from scalping, he acted with dignity, and dismissed every one of them, saying, he would rather forego all the advantage of their assistance, than make war in so cruel a manner. This conduct reflects great honor upon his character, as the gentleman and the soldier. The day

1776. Sir Guy withdrew from Crown Point, Gates, upon being assured of the fact, instantly dismissed the militia, with thanks for their service, which he wished not to prolong—for he had no provision for them. For near a week after, the army had but a daily supply of between 20 and 30 barrels by land from Bennington.

General Carleton, before he commenced his operations on the lake, had prudently shipped off the American officers (made prisoners in Canada) for New England, supplying them at the same time with every thing requisite to render their voyage comfortable. The other prisoners, amounting to about 800, were returned also by a flag, after being obliged to take an oath not to serve during the war, unless exchanged: many of these, being almost naked, Sir Guy clothed, out of compassion. By his tenderness and humanity, he has gained the affections of those Americans, who had fallen into his hands; and has done more toward subduing the rest than ever could have been effected by the greatest cruelties.

The only danger to be guarded against by the Americans at Ty and the neighbouring posts, is, gen. Carleton's attempting to possess himself of them, when Lake Champlain shall be frozen over, so as to be capable of bearing horses, which probably will not be till the middle of January. The troops occupying these posts will not tarry longer than to the end of the year: before that there is time enough to procure a sufficient force from the Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire, to defend them. And if the weeks, between Sir Guy's returning to Canada and the frost's setting in so as to suspend all operations, are duly improved, something considerable

able may be wrought toward securing the entrance into^{1776.} the northern states. During the summer season, a road has been cut through the woods, for some miles, leading to Mount Independence, and communicating with the one leading to Hubbardton, so that the intercourse between that post and the northern states can be carried on by land, without coming either through Lake George, or by water from Skeensborough. That the road is horribly bad for carriages and horses in many places, but not impassable, my own experience convinces me. Teams have travelled them with heavy loads, though not without ropes fastened to each side, and men attending to keep them from falling over, through the unevenness of the ground. But it is astonishing, that loads of tent-poles should be sent scores of miles to pass through these woods to the American camp, instead of being ordered to be cut in the neighbourhood, where there was little other than woodland. By some strange fatality, or folly, the Americans conduct their business in a most expensive way, whereas they ought to exercise the greatest œconomy practicable without injuring the common cause. If the fate of war depends upon the expenditure of money, and the ability of the parties to continue the expences, the United States must be a-ground much sooner than Great Britain, unless the latter practises and continues an equal degree of extravagance and profusion.

Mr. James Lovell, who has at length recovered his liberty by an exchange, was chosen, ten days ago, by the Massachusetts general court, one of their delegates to congress.

L E T T E R VIII.

Roxbury, April 16, 1777,

1776. **L**ET the present letter begin with mentioning, that
 the representatives of the freemen of the state of
 North Carolina, elected and chosen for that purpose,
 assembled in congress at Halifax, and after a third read-
 ing, ratified their form of government, with a declara-
 Dec. tion of rights prefixed, on the 18th of last December.
 18.

When gen. Washington retreated with a handful of men across the Delaware, he trembled for the fate of America, which *nothing but the infatuation of the enemy could have saved* *. Though they missed the boats with which they expected to follow him immediately into Pennsylvania, yet Trenton and the neighbourhood could have supplied them with materials, which industry might have soon constructed into sufficient conveniencies for the transportation of the troops, over a smooth river, and of no great extent in some places. But they were put into cantonments for the present, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick to the Delaware, and down the banks of the Delaware for several miles, so as to compose a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Philadelphia. Mr. Mercereau was employed by the American general to gain intelligence, and provided a

* The general's words in his own letter.

simple youth *, whose apparent defectiveness in abilities ^{1776.} prevented all suspicion, but whose fidelity and attention, with the capacities he possessed, constituted him an excellent spy: he passed from place to place, mixed with the soldiers, and having performed his business, returned with an account where they were cantoned, and in what numbers. Gen. Fermoy was appointed to receive, and communicate the information to the commander in chief: upon the receipt of it, he cried out, “Now is our time to clip their wings while they are so spread.” But before an attempt could be made with a desirable prospect of success, gen. Washington was almost ready ^{21.} to despair, while he contemplated the probable state of his own troops within the compass of ten days. He could not count upon those whose time expired the first of January: and expected, that as soon as the ice was formed, the enemy would pass the Delaware. He found his numbers on inquiry less than he had any conception of; and while he communicated the fact, thus charged his confidant—“For heaven’s sake keep this to yourself, as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us.” Col. Reed wrote the next day from Bristol, and proposed to the general the making of a diversion, or something more at or about Trenton, and proceeded to say, “If we could possess ourselves again of New Jersey, or any considerable part, the effect would be greater than if we had not left it. Allow me to hope, that you will consult your own good judgment and spirit, and let not the goodness of your heart subject you to the influence of

* After having been employed some time in similar services, the enemy grew suspicious of him, and upon that, without proof, put him into prison, where he was starved to death.

1776. the opinions of men in every respect your inferiors. Something must be attempted before the sixty days expire which the commissioners have allowed ;—for, however many may affect to despise it, it is evident a very serious attention is paid to it : and I am confident, that unless some more favorable appearance attends our arms and cause before that time, a very great number of the militia officers here, will follow the example of Jersey, and take benefit from it. Our cause is desperate and hopeless, if we do not strike some stroke. Our affairs are hastening apace to ruin, if we do not retrieve them by some happy event. Delay with us, is near equal to a total defeat. We must not suffer ourselves to be lulled into security and inactivity, because the enemy does not cross the river. The love of my country, a wife [formerly miss De Berdt] and four children in the enemy's hands, the respect and attachment I have to you, the ruin and poverty that must attend me and thousands of others, will plead my excuse for so much freedom."

Dec. 23. The general on the 23d answered, " Necessity, dire necessity will—nay, must justify any attempt. Prepare, and in concert with Griffin, attack as many posts as you possibly can with a prospect of success. I have now ample testimony of the enemy's intentions to attack Philadelphia, as soon as the ice will afford the means of conveyance. Our men are to be provided with three days provision, ready cooked, with which and their blankets they are to march. One hour before day is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton. If we are successful, which Heaven grant ! and other circumstances favor, we may push on. I shall direct every ferry and ford to be well guarded, and not a soul suf-
fered

ferred to pass without an officer's going down with the 1776. permit."

The origin of the present distress was stated in a letter of the same date, from a member of congress to his friend, in these words, "The causes of our present unhappy situation have long been known: the consequences of them were often foretold, and the measures execrated by some of the best friends of America; but an obstinate partiality (in the New England delegates) to the habits and customs of one part of this continent, has predominated in the public councils, and too little attention has been paid to others. It has been my fate to make an ineffectual opposition to all short enlistments, to colonial appointments of officers, and other measures pregnant with mischiefs; but these things either suited the genius and habits, or squared with the interests of some states, that had sufficient influence to prevail, and nothing is now left but to extricate ourselves from difficulties as well as we can."

Colonel Griffin, unacquainted both with the plan, and the time for attacking Trenton, crossed over from Philadelphia into the Jerseys, unknown to gen. Washington, and being joined with a few of the Jersey militia, proceeded to Mount Holly, which induced col. Donop to quit Bordentown; he returned however to his station before the attack upon col. Rall. The commander in chief would have comprehended in his plan, a diversion for count Donop by gen. Putnam: but the latter gave such a representation of the militia, of the confusion that prevailed, and of his apprehensions of an insurrection in Philadelphia, in case of his absence, that it was laid aside. The question for independency had been carried

1776. carried in Pennsylvania by a great majority; but that did not lessen the bitterness of those who opposed it, among whom were most of the quakers. These coalesced with the royalists of other denominations, and composed so formidable a party in the city, that it was dangerous, in the present crisis, to withdraw the militia serving in it on the side of the American cause.

The plan was to have crossed the Delaware in three divisions—one from the neighbourhood of Bristol, which miscarried by a strange inattention to the tide and state of the river, so that it was impossible for the horses and cannon to land on the Jersey shore, through the heaps of ice cast upon it with the change of the tide—a second, at Trenton ferry, under gen. Erwing; but the quantity of ice was so great, that though he did every thing in his power to effect it, he could not get over; and finding it impossible to embark his artillery, he was obliged to desist—the third and principal was commanded by gen. Washington, assisted by generals Sullivan and Greene, and col. Knox of the artillery. It was meant to attack early on the morning of the 26th, from the supposition, that the festivity of the preceding day would make surprise more easy, and conquest more certain.

On the evening of the 25th, gen. Washington orders the troops, which are about 2400, to parade at the back of M'Kenky's Ferry, that they may begin to cross as soon as it is grows dark; for he imagines that he shall throw them all over, with the necessary artillery by twelve o'clock, and arrive at Trenton nine miles below, by five. The quantity of ice made in the night, impedes the boats, and it is three before the artillery gets over, and near four before the troops take up their line
of

of march, which makes the general despair of surprising ^{1776.} the town, as they cannot reach it before full day-break: but as there is no making a retreat without being discovered and harassed, he determines to push on at all events. Col. Rall has received information of an intended attack, and that the 25th at night is thought to be the time fixed upon. His men are paraded, and his picket is looking out for it. Capt. Washington *, commanding a scouting party of about 50 foot soldiers, has been in the Jerseys about three days without effecting any exploit. He therefore concludes upon marching toward Trenton; advances, and attacks the picket. He exchanges a few shot, and then retreats. As he is making for the Delaware on his return to Pennsylvania, he meets with gen. Washington's troops: conjecturing ^{Dec. 26,} their design, he is distressed with an apprehension that by the attack he has alarmed the enemy, and put them upon their guard. The enemy, on the other hand, conclude from it after a while, that this is all the attack which is intended; and so retire to their quarters, and become secure: many get drunk. Gen. Washington forms his detachment into two divisions; one takes the lower road to Trenton, while the other with the general marches along the upper or Pennington † road. The upper division arrives at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock; and in three minutes after, the fire in the lower road announces the arrival of the other

* Since colonel of horse.

† In the maps it is put down Pennington; but the Jersey inhabitants in common would not know the place meant, unless you called it Pennytown.

1776. division. When the enemy's picket * discovers, in the gray of the morning, the advance of the general's troops, they suppose it to be only the scouting party returned. The out-guards make but a small opposition; though they behave well for their number, keeping up a constant retreating fire behind houses. The main body forms: the Americans press the men hard, and soon get possession of half their artillery. Finding from the position of their enemy, that they are surrounded, and must inevitably be cut to pieces, if they make any further resistance, they agree to lay down their arms, to the number of 23 officers, and 886 men.

General Greene and col. Knox (elected by ballot a brigadier the next day, before the news had reached congress) would have persuaded the commander in chief to have pushed on and improved the alarm given the enemy, to which he was inclined; but the generality of the officers were against it, and his excellency did not then think he could answer going contrary to the judgment of the majority of a council of war. He has since regretted his not seizing the golden opportunity.

Seven of the enemys officers were wounded, beside col. Rall mortally. There were about 30 others killed and wounded. The regiments of Rall, Lofsberg, and Knyphausen, were obliged to surrender. The light horse, chasseurs, a number of privates, with a few officers, in all to the amount of about 600, escaped by the road leading to Bordentown. The Americans lost about two men; beside two or three frozen to death. Capt.

* What relates to the attack upon the picket, &c. was confirmed to me August 11, 1785, at New York, by the Rev. Mr. Van Arsdelen, who had the story from the Hessian officer commanding the picket.

Washington, who assisted in securing the artillery, was 1776. wounded in both hands. The Americans took 918 prisoners; as many muskets, bayonets, and cartouch boxes; 12 drums and 4 colours—an ample compensation for all the sufferings of the preceding night, though they were not trifling. The weather was sleety, snowy, and intensely cold; and the road slippery. A more disagreeable, severe, wintry night is seldom to be met with even in America.

In the evening, gen. Washington repassed the Delaware, carrying with him the prisoners, their artillery and colours—and elevated hopes, that this successful attack would draw after it a train of the most beneficial and important consequences. It has excited not less astonishment in the British and auxiliary quarters, than it has done joy in those of the Americans. The Hessians will be no longer terrible: and the spirits of the Americans will rise amazingly. But before this happened, a small party in the neighbourhood of Quaker-town had flown to arms, with a resolution not to lay them down more, while they had enemies near them; being provoked to it by the insufferable behaviour of some British light-horsemen.

Though gen. Cadwallader did not pass over the Delaware at the time intended, yet the day after the surprise, Dec. he crossed about two miles above Bristol with 1500 men, 27. imagining that gen. Washington was still on that side. Receiving intelligence that the enemy had left Mount Holly, he determined upon proceeding to Burlington, (even after learning that the successful troops had recrossed) and upon marching the next day to Bordentown; which was accordingly done, the enemy going off

1776. off in the utmost confusion on the alarm of his approach.

The day he crossed, 500 men were sent from Philadelphia, who passed over to Burlington on the morning of the 28th; in the evening, gen. Mifflin sent over 300 more, and soon followed with a further reinforcement of some hundreds, designing to join gen. Cadwallader as soon as possible. Pennsylvania was now roused, and coming in great numbers to the aid of the commander in chief. On the last mentioned day, gen. Greene crossed afresh into the Jerseys with 300 militia. The time for which many of the militia were to serve was just expiring. In order to prevail with them to continue, they were harangued. Their pride was addressed. They were told, that if they withdrew, it would be charged upon them that they were afraid. Application was artfully made to every passion; and not altogether in vain.

Dec. General Washington reached Trenton with about

29. 1800 continentals. Twelve hundred of them were released from their enlistment the first of January. Attempts were made to engage them to continue a month or six weeks longer. Ten dollars extra-pay was offered: they took the bounty; and near one half went off in a few days after, before the critical moment arrived. It was soon debated, whether to order up the Pennsylvania militia from Bordentown, Mount Holly and elsewhere to join gen. Washington. Gen. Knox had prepared Dr. Rush, a member of congress, to assist in effecting the scheme. He was asked in to give his opinion, and declared in favor of ordering them up, which was then

1777. done. The junction of the militia with the continentals, (making in the whole about 5000 men) imboldened the latter to remain in their position, after hearing
Jan. 1. that

that the enemy was advancing toward them. The alarm 1777. which had been given, induced the British and auxiliary troops to assemble; and gen. Grant, with the forces at Brunswick and in that quarter, marched speedily for Princeton. Lord Cornwallis was gone to New York in his way to Great Britain: but upon this unexpected turn of affairs concluded upon deferring his voyage, and returning to the defence of the Jerseys. He pressed on with the greatest expedition; left the fourth brigade, consisting of the 70th, 40th, and 55th regiments, under the command of lieut. col. Mawhood at Princeton, and the second brigade under gen. Leslie at Maidenhead; and joined the main body by the time they got near Trenton.

General Greene is sent out with a considerable detachment, to support a party stationed about a mile off, and to check the march of the enemy; but finds them advancing in such force and so expeditiously, that he is at some difficulty in making a good retreat with the whole of the Americans. Mean while gen. Washington makes a disposition for an action; which as the enemy do not come on directly, is afterward varied to prevent their getting in on the American rear. The bridge over Sanpink Creek is well secured; but can be of little advantage, as the stream is fordable in many places. The American army has between thirty and forty pieces of artillery in front, facing the creek. The fate of the continent seems suspended by a single thread; and the independence of America to hang on the issue of a battle which appears inevitable; and in which the most sanguine son of liberty can scarce flatter himself with the hope of a victory, the enemy being so superior in numbers and discipline. A defeat must be totally ruinous,

1777. ruinous, from the nature of the ground which the Americans occupy.

Sir William Erskine, according to report, advises lord Cornwallis to an immediate attack, saying, "Otherwise Washington, if any general, will make a move to the left of your army: if your lordship does not attack, throw a large body of troops on the road to your left." The attack is put off till the morning: his lordship might act upon what is said to be a military principle, that the strongest army ought not to attack toward night. Mean while gen. Washington calls a council of war. It is known that they are to be attacked the next day, by the whole collected force of the enemy. The matter of debate is, "Shall we march down on the Jersey side, and cross the Delaware over against Philadelphia, or shall we fight?" Both are thought to be too hazardous. On this gen. Washington says. "What think you of a circuitous march to Princeton?" It is approved, and concluded upon. Providence favors the manœuvre. The weather having been for two days warm, moist and foggy, the ground is become quite soft, and the roads to be passed so deep, that it will be extremely difficult, if practicable, to get on with the cattle, carriages and artillery. But while the council is sitting, the wind suddenly changes to the north-west, and it freezes so hard, that by the time the troops are ready to move, they pass on, as though upon a solid pavement. Such freezings frequently happen in the depth of winter, upon the wind's coming suddenly about to the north-west. This sudden change of weather gives a plausible pretext for that line of fires, which gen. Washington causes to be kindled, soon after dark, in the front of
his

his army; and by which he conceals himself from the notice of the enemy, and induces them to believe he is still upon the ground, waiting for them till morning. The stratagem is rendered the more complete, by an order given to the men, who are intrusted with the business, to keep up the fires in full blaze, till break of day. While the fires are burning, the baggage and three pieces of ordnance are sent off to Burlington for security; and with the design, that if the enemy follow it, the Americans may take advantage of their so doing. The troops march about one o'clock with great silence and order, and crossing Sanpink Creek, proceed toward and arrive near Princeton a little before day break. The three British regiments are marching down to Trenton on another road about a quarter of a mile distant. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, under gen. Mercer, advances to attack them. Col. Mawhood considers it only as a flying party attempting to interrupt his march, and approaches with his 17th regiment so near before he fires, that the colour of their buttons is discerned. He repulses the assailants with great spirit, and they give way in confusion; officers and men seem seized with a panic, which spreads fast, and indicates an approaching defeat. Gen. Washington perceives the disorder, and penetrates the fatal consequence of being vanquished. The present moment requires an exertion to ward off the danger, however hazardous to his own person. He advances instantly; encourages his troops to make a stand; places himself between them and the British, distant from each other about thirty yards; reins his horse's head toward the front of the enemy; and boldly faces them while

VOL. II, D d they

1777. they discharge their pieces : their fire is immediately returned by the Americans, without their adverting to the position of the general, who is providentially preserved from being injured either by foe or friend. The scale is turned, and col. Mawhood soon finds, that he is attacked on all sides by a superior force ; and that he is cut off from the rest of the brigade. He discovers also by the continued distant firing, that the fifty-fifth is not in better circumstances. His regiment having used their bayonets, with too much severity, on the party put to flight by them in the beginning, now pay for it in proportion, near 60 are killed upon the spot, beside the wounded. But the colonel and a number force their way through, and pursue their march to Maidenhead. The fifty-fifth regiment being hard pressed, and finding it impossible to continue its march, makes good its retreat, and returns by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick. The fortieth is but little engaged ; those of the men who escape, retire by another road to the same place.

It was proposed to make a forced march to Brunswick, where was the baggage of the whole British army, and gen. Lee ; but the men having been without either rest, rum, or provisions for two days and two nights, were unequal to the task. It was then debated, whether to file off to Cranberry in order to cross the Delaware and secure Philadelphia. Gen. Knox urged their marching to Morristown, and informed the commander in chief, that when he passed through that part of the country, he observed that it was a good position. He also remarked, that they should be upon the flank of the enemy, and might easily change their situation, if requisite.

requisite. By his earnest importunity he prevailed, and 1777 the measure was adopted. Gen. Greene was with the main body, which was advanced; and had put it into the Morristown road, without having been first acquainted with the determination. Just as that was concluded upon, the enemy were firing upon the rear of the Americans. Lord Cornwallis had been waked by the sound of the American cannon at Princeton; and finding himself out-generalled, and apprehensive for his stores and baggage, had posted back with the utmost expedition. The army under gen. Washington marched on to Pluckemin in their way to Morristown, pulling up the bridges as they proceeded, thereby to incommode the enemy and secure themselves. By the time they got there, the men were so excessively fatigued, that a fresh and resolute body of five hundred, might have demolished the whole. Numbers lay down in the woods and fell asleep, without regarding the coldness of the weather. The royal army was still under such alarming impressions, that it continued its march from Trenton to Brunswick, thirty miles, without halting longer at least than was necessary to make the bridges over Stony Brook and Millstone passable.

General Howe admits, that the loss in this affair was 17 killed, and nearly 200 wounded and missing. But the Americans say, they have taken near 300 prisoners, of whom 14 are officers, all British. Capt. Leslie, the son of the earl of Leven, who was killed in the engagement, was buried by the Americans with the honors of war, not only as a British officer, but in testimony of respect to his lordship's worth. The American officers commended the bravery of the troops un-

1777. der col. Mawhood: one of the generals observing how they fought, exclaimed, "When will our men fight like those fellows!" Gen. Mercer met with hard usage, being bayoneted in three places, of which wounds he is since dead. He was a deserving character, and merited different treatment. Some may pronounce the treatment, that capt. Phillips, of the thirty-fifth-grenadiers, has met with, much baser; but not when they have the case properly represented. The captain, as he was returning from New York to join his company, was surprised between Brunswick and Princeton, by a party of militia, who threatened him in case he attempted to escape; regardless of the threat, he clapped spurs to his horse, and pushed forward, on which they fired and killed him. Gen. Gates, who is married to the captain's sister, blames the captain more than the men.

The eagerness of the royal army to reach and secure Brunswick, occasioned their marching through Princeton with such expedition, as to divert their attention from either carrying off or destroying the curious orrery belonging to Nassau college. It was contrived and made by an original genius, and self-taught astronomer, Mr. Rittenhouse of Philadelphia. There is not the like in Europe. An elegant, and neatly ornamented frame rises perpendicularly near upon eight feet. In the front of which you are presented, in three several apartments, with a view of the celestial system, the motions of the planets round the sun, and the satellites about the planets. The wheels, &c. that produce the movements, are behind the wooden perpendicular plane, on which the orrery is fixed. By suitable contrivances, you in a short time tell the eclipses of the sun and moon for ages past

and

and ages to come: the like in other cases of astronomy. 1776. It is said, that lord Cornwallis intended to have carried it over to Great Britain: no man of science can blame his taste, which may have preserved it from ruin, by securing to it that protection while in the hands of the enemy, that might otherwise have been denied. But the children of the alma mater whose it is, triumph in its preservation, though somewhat damaged. The college library did not escape so well as the orrery; but suffered considerably.

Let us attend for a while upon the congress at *Baltimore*; where they met according to adjournment the 20th of December, and soon after passed the following act—"The congress, having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor and uprightness of gen. Washington, do hereby Resolve, That gen. Washington shall be, and he is hereby vested with full, ample, and complete powers, to raise and collect together in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry in addition to those already voted by congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army,

1776. if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the states, of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them; and, That the foregoing powers be vested in gen. Washington, for and during the term of six months from the date hereof, unless sooner determined by congress."

They also "Resolved, That the council of safety of Pennsylvania be requested to take the most vigorous and speedy measures for punishing all such as refuse continental currency; and that the general be directed to give all necessary aid to the council of safety, for carrying their measures on this subject into effectual execution."

Dec.
28.

"Resolved, That two large floating batteries be built on Lake Champlain, to cover the boom and the bridge at Tyconderoga: that a fort be constructed on Mount Independence: that the navigation of the lake near that place be obstructed by sunken cascons, joined together by string-pieces, so as, at the same time, to serve for a bridge between the fortifications on the east and west side; and that Fort Stanwix be strengthened, and other fortifications made at proper places near the Mohawk river."

30.

It was "Resolved, That commissioners be forthwith sent to the courts of *Vienna*, *Spain*, *Prussia*, and the grand duke of *Tuscany*:—That the several commissioners of the United States be instructed to assure the respective courts, that notwithstanding the artful and insidious

fidious endeavours of the court of Great Britain, it is ^{1776.} their determination, at all events, to maintain their independence :—That they be directed to use every mean in their power to procure the assistance of the emperor of Germany, and of their most Christian, Catholic, and Prussian majesties, for preventing German, Russian, or other foreign troops, from being sent to America for hostile purposes against these United States, and for obtaining a recall of those already sent:—and, That his most Christian majesty be induced, if possible, to assist the United States, in the present war with Great Britain, by attacking the electorate of Hanover, or any part of the dominions of Great Britain in Europe, the East or West Indies.” His most Christian majesty was to be assured, “ That should his forces be employed, in conjunction with those of the United States, to exclude his Britannic majesty from any share in the cod fishery of America, by reducing the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton ; and ships of war be furnished, when required by the United States, to reduce Nova Scotia ; the fishery shall be enjoyed equally and in common, by the subjects of his most Christian majesty and of these states, to the exclusion of all other nations and people whatever ; and half the island of Newfoundland shall be owned by, and be subject to the jurisdiction of his most Christian majesty, provided the province of Nova Scotia, the island of Cape Breton, and the remaining part of Newfoundland be annexed to the territory and government of the United States.” If these proposals were not sufficient to produce a declaration of war, and it could not be otherwise accomplished, his most Christian majesty was to be assured, “ That such

1776. of the British West India islands, as in the course of the war shall be reduced by the united force of France and these states, shall be yielded in absolute property to his most Christian majesty : and the United States engage, on timely notice, to furnish at their expence, and deliver in some convenient port or ports, in the said United States, provisions for carrying on expeditions against the said islands, to the amount of two millions of dollars, and six frigates mounting not less than twenty-four guns, each manned and fitted for the sea ; and to render any other assistance which may be in their power as becomes good allies."

The commissioners for the courts of France and Spain were to consult together, and prepare a treaty of commerce and alliance, to be proposed to the court of Spain, adding thereto, " that if his Catholic majesty will join the United States in a war against Great Britain, they will assist in reducing to the possession of Spain, the town and harbour of Pensacola, provided the citizens and inhabitants of the United States shall have the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Mississippi, and use of the harbour of Pensacola ; and will, provided it be true, that his Portuguese majesty has insultingly expelled the vessels of these states from his ports, or has confiscated any such vessels, declare war against the said king, if that measure shall be agreeable to, and be supported by the courts of France and Spain."

1777. " Whereas congress hath received information, that
Jan. 3. Richard Stockton esq; of New Jersey, and a member of this congress, hath been made a prisoner, and ignominiously thrown into a common jail, and there detained—Resolved, That gen. Washington be directed to make

make immediate inquiry into the truth of this report, 1777. and if he finds reason to believe it well founded, that he send to gen. Howe, remonstrating against this departure from that humane procedure which has marked the conduct of these states to prisoners who have fallen into their hands; and to know of gen. Howe, whether he chooses this shall be the future rule for treating all such on both sides, as the fortune of war may place in the hands of either party."

The capture of gen. Lee has proved inconvenient to both sides, and calamitous to individuals. Somewhat like a cartel was before established for the exchange of prisoners between generals Howe and Washington. Gen. Lee being particularly obnoxious to government, and Howe perhaps having received prior instructions how to conduct himself with respect to him individually, (for he can have had none as yet upon the news of his capture) his exchange was refused. Washington having no prisoner of equal rank, proposed six Hessian field officers to balance that disparity: and, if this was not accepted, required that he should be treated suitable to his station, and the precedent already set by the Americans in regard to the British officers they had captivated. It was answered, that as Lee was a deserter from his majesty's service, he could not be considered as a prisoner of war, nor come within the conditions of the cartel, nor receive any of its benefits. A fruitless discussion ensued: and Lee was still confined, watched and guarded with the utmost strictness and jealousy; which produced the following congressional act—"Congress being informed 6, that major gen. Lee hath, since his captivity, been committed to the custody of the provost, instead of being enlarged

1777. enlarged on his parole, according to the humane practice that has taken place with officers of the enemy who have fallen into the hands of the American troops ; a treatment totally unworthy of that gentleman's eminent qualifications, and his rank in the service of the United States, and strongly indicative of further injuries to his person :—Resolved, That gen. Washington be directed to send to gen. Howe, and inform him, that, should the proffered exchange of gen. Lee for six Hessian field officers not be accepted, and the treatment of him as abovementioned be continued, the principles of retaliation shall occasion five of the said Hessian field officers, together with lieut. col. Archibald Campbell, or any other officers that are or shall be in our possession equivalent in number or quality, to be detained, in order that the said treatment which gen. Lee shall receive may be exactly inflicted upon their persons :—Ordered, That a copy of the above resolution be transmitted to the council of the Massachusetts-bay, and that they be desired to detain lieut. col. *Campbell*, and keep him in safe custody till the further order of congress ; and that a copy be also sent to the committee of congress in Philadelphia ; and that they be desired to have the prisoners, officers and privates, lately taken, properly secured in some safe place.”

When the resolution was received by the *Massachusetts* council, instead of conforming solely to the words of the order *to keep the colonel in safe custody*, they sent him to Concord jail ; where he was lodged in a dungeon of twelve or thirteen feet square, whose sides were black with the grease and litter of successive criminals. Two doors, with double locks and bolts, shut him from the yard,

yard, with an express prohibition from entering it, either for health, or the necessary calls of nature. A loathsome black hole, decorated with a pair of fixed chains, was granted him for his inner apartment; from whence a felon had been removed but the moment before, and in which his litter and excrement remained, a fortnight after it was appropriated to the use of the colonel. The attendance of a single servant on his person was denied him, and every visit from a friend positively refused. When he had transmitted an account of these and other matters to Sir William Howe on the 14th of February, and the same had been communicated to gen. Washington, a letter was directly written on the 28th, in which the general says, " You will observe that exactly the same treatment is to be shown to col. Campbell and the Hessian officers, that gen. Howe shows to gen. Lee; and as he is only confined to a commodious house with genteel accommodations, we have no right or reason to be more severe upon col. Campbell, who I would wish should be immediately removed from his present situation, and put into a house where he may live comfortably."

The enemy have in their power, and subject to their call, near 300 officers belonging to the army of the United States: while the Americans have not more than 50 belonging to the enemy. The resolve therefore for putting in close confinement col. Campbell and the Hessian officers, in order to retaliate Lee's punishment, seems injurious in every point of view, and to have been entered into without due attention to the consequences. Gen. Lee's misfortune has sunk him greatly in the opinion of many Americans; and serves to convey a lively idea of the inconstancy and ingratitude of mankind.

Some

1777. Some of those very people, who, when he was marching to join gen. Washington, regarded him as the guardian angel, that was to deliver America, not only censure him bitterly, but even insinuate that he was treacherous. The Americans however have reaped one advantage by that event—the enemy are convinced, that they have not gotten the Palladium of America as they fondly boasted.

Jan.
14.

Congress have been often, and for a considerable time, in a committee of the whole, upon the state of the treasury, and the means of supporting the credit of the continental currency. At length they have “Resolved, That all bills of credit emitted by authority of congress, ought to pass current in all payments, trade and dealings in these states, and be deemed in value equal to the same nominal sums in Spanish milled dollars; and that whosoever shall offer, ask or receive more in the said bills for any gold or silver coins, bullion, or any other species of money whatsoever, than the nominal sum or amount thereof in Spanish milled dollars, or more in the said bills for any lands, houses, goods or commodities whatsoever than the same could be purchased at of the same person or persons in gold, silver, or any other species of money whatsoever; or shall offer to sell any goods or commodities for gold or silver coins, or any other species of money whatsoever, and refuse to sell the same for the said continental bills; every such person ought to be deemed an enemy to the liberties of these United States, and to forfeit the value of the money so exchanged, or house, land, or commodity so sold or offered to sale. And it is recommended to the legislatures of the respective states, to enact laws inflicting such

such forfeitures and other penalties on offenders as afore- 1777.
said, as will prevent such pernicious practices :—That it
be recommended to the legislatures of the United States
to pass laws to make the bills of credit issued by the
congress, a lawful tender in payments of public and
private debts ; and a refusal thereof an extinguishment
of such debts : that debts payable in sterling money be
discharged with continental dollars, at the rate of four
and six-pence sterling per dollar ; and that in discharge
of all other debts and contracts, continental dollars pass
at the rate fixed by the respective states for the value of
Spanish milled dollars.”

The several states will undoubtedly make the conti-
nental bills a legal tender, agreeable to the recommen-
dation ; though therein they establish the perpetration of
iniquity by law. There are too many debtors in every
state, and general assembly, who will by the help of it
clear themselves of encumbrances ; and who will feel
nothing, or but little, at the injustice they commit in
paying their creditors with a depreciated currency, while
they have the law of the land in their favor. But all
these attempts of congress to keep up the value of the
bills are delusive ; and will deceive those most, who
have the greatest confidence in the wisdom of the present
measure. It is scarce possible, that they can so far im-
pose upon their own judgments, as to view it in any
other light than a momentary relief from a present evil,
by subjecting themselves to a greater in future, but
which when it shall arrive, they flatter themselves they
shall get rid of, by some new expedient.

Congress “ Resolved, That a committee of seven be 16.
appointed to inquire into the conduct of the British and
Hessian

1777. Hessian generals and officers toward the officers, soldiers, and mariners in the service of the United States, and any other persons, inhabitants of these states, in their possession, as prisoners of war, or otherwise, and also into the conduct of the said generals and officers, and the troops under their command toward the subjects of these states and their property, more especially of the states of New York and New Jersey." This committee will undoubtedly authenticate the cruelties of the royal army, which have been too frequent and notorious. The very orders of gen. Howe have not been sufficiently guarded for the preventing of abuses. When the enemy fled from their cantonments in the Jerseys, his orders to col. Donop fell into the hands of the Americans: they expressed that "all salted and meal provisions, which may be judged to exceed the quantity necessary for the subsistence of an ordinary family, shall be considered as a magazine of the enemy, and seized for the king, and given to the troops as a saving for the public."

When the royal army entered the Jerseys, the inhabitants pretty generally remained in their houses, and many thousands received printed protections, signed by order of the commander in chief. But neither the proclamation of the commissioners, nor protections, saved the people from plunder any more than from insult. Their property was taken or destroyed without distinction of persons. They showed their protections: Hessians could not read them, and would not understand them; and the British soldiers thought they had as good a right to a share of booty as the Hessians. The loyalists were plundered even at New York. Gen. De Heister may be pronounced the arch-plunderer. He offered the

the house he lived in at New York to public sale; though 1777 the property of a very loyal subject, who had voluntarily and hospitably accommodated him with it. The goods of others, suffering restraint or imprisonment among the Americans, were sold by auction. The carriages of gentlemen of the first rank were seized, their arms defaced, and the plunderer's arms blazoned in their place; and this too by British officers. Discontents and murmurs increased every hour at the licentious ravages of the soldiery, both British and foreigners, who were shamefully permitted, with unrelenting hand, to pillage friend and foe in the Jerseys*. Neither age, nor sex, was spared. Indiscriminate ruin attended every person they met with. Infants, children, old men and women, were left in their shirts, without a blanket to cover them, under the inclemency of winter. Every kind of furniture was destroyed and burnt; windows and doors were broken to pieces; in short, the houses were left uninhabitable, and the people without provisions; for every horse, cow, ox, and fowl, was carried off. Horrid depredations and abuses were committed by that part of the army, which was stationed at or near Pennytown. Sixteen young women fled to the woods to avoid the brutality of the soldiers; and were there seized and carried off. One man had the cruel mortification to have his wife and only daughter (a child of ten years) ravished. Another girl of thirteen was taken from her father's house, carried to a barn about a mile off, there dishonoured, and afterward abused by five others. A most respectable gentleman, in the neighbourhood of Woodbridge, was alarmed with the cries and shrieks of a most

* See the Letters of a Loyalist,

1777. lovely daughter: he found a British officer in the act of violating her, and instantly put him to death. Two other officers rushed in with their fuses, and fired two balls into the father, who was languishing under his wounds the beginning of January*.

These enormities, though too frequently practised in a time of war by the military, unless restrained by the severest discipline, so exasperated the people of the *Jerseys*, that they flew to arms immediately upon the army's hurrying from Trenton; and forming themselves into parties, they way-laid the men, and cut them off as they had opportunity. The militia collected. The *Americans* in a few days over-ran the *Jerseys*. The enemy was forced from *Woodbridge*. Gen. Maxwell surprised *Elizabeth Town*; and took near 100 prisoners, with a quantity of baggage. *Newark* was abandoned. The royal troops were confined to the narrow compass of *Brunswick* and *Amboy*, both holding an open communication with New York by water. They could not even stir out to forage but in large parties, which seldom returned without loss. Gen. Dickinson, with about 400 militia and 50 of the Pennsylvania riflemen, defeated near Somerset Court-house, on Millstone river, a foraging party of the enemy of equal number; and took 40 waggons, upward of 100 horses, beside sheep and cattle which they had collected. They retreated with such precipitation, that he could make only nine prisoners; but they were observed to carry off many dead and wounded in light waggons. The general's behaviour reflects the highest honor upon him; for though his troops were all raw, he led them through the river middle

Jan.
20.

* Remembrancer, Part IV. p. 307.

deep, and gave the enemy so severe a charge, that al-1777.
though supported by three field pieces, they gave way,
and left their convoy.

The whole country was now become hostile to the British army. Sufferers of all parties rose as one man to revenge their personal injuries and particular oppressions, and were the most bitter and determined enemies. They who were incapable of bearing arms, acted as spies; and kept a continual watch, so that not the smallest motion could be made by the royalists, without its being discovered, before it could produce the intended effect. This hostile spirit was encouraged by a proclamation of gen. Washington; which commands every person having subscribed the declaration of fidelity to Great Britain, taken the oaths of allegiance, and accepted protections and certificates from the commissioners, to deliver up the same, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America. It grants however, full liberty to all such as prefer the interest and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country, forthwith to withdraw themselves and families within the enemy's lines. But it declares, that all who neglect or refuse to comply with the order, within thirty days from the date, will be deemed adherents to the king of Great Britain, and treated as common enemies to these American States. Some days before the proclamation was issued, a number of the Pennsylvania militia, having served the time fixed upon, were desirous of returning, which was complied with; and the general took the earliest opportunity of returning his most hearty thanks to those brave men, who in the most inclement season of the year nobly stepped

25.

VOL. II. E e forth

1777. forth in defence of their country. He also acknowledged with pleasure the signal services done by the said militia; and with additional satisfaction, the good services of those battalions, who determined to remain with him after the expiration of their times of service. The militia of Pennsylvania are not only entitled to the hearty thanks of the commander in chief, but of the United States; for greatly through their instrumentality, the Jerseys have been nearly recovered, and a victorious and superior army been reduced to act upon the defensive, as well as Philadelphia saved, and Pennsylvania freed from danger. Nor will gratitude forget the share which gen. Mifflin had in exciting them to rise in favor of public liberty.

Toward the end of January a plan was formed for taking Fort Independence, near Kingsbridge, and by so doing to obtain a passage into New York island. About 4000 militia of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York states, in four divisions, under generals Heath, Wooster, Parsons, and Lincoln, were destined for the service. Gen. Heath was commander in chief. They marched, the division under Heath from White Plains—under Wooster and Parsons from New Rochelle—and under Lincoln from toward Tarry-town. All met on the heights about and near Kingsbridge. The fort had but a trifling garrison, which could have made no effectual resistance, had a vigorous push been instantly made; and the men were in spirits for the attempt. In this way only could it be carried, was defence attempted, as the Americans had no other artillery than three field pieces. With these they fired a number of shots at eighty or a hundred Hessians, and a few light horse, who

who collected on the other side of Haerlem river; the 1777.
Hessians were thrown into a momentary confusion, but soon formed again. Gen. Heath demanded a surrender of the fort, and threatened in case of non-compliance. The threat was disregarded. The troops were employed chiefly in picking up Tories, and in foraging and taking stores that had been in the possession of the enemy, till more artillery should arrive from Peek's-kill, which a council of war had agreed to send for. About nine days from the first appearance of the Americans before the fort, the artillery came to hand, and consisted of one brass 24 pounder, and two howitzers. The twenty-four pounder was fired twice, when the carriage broke; and a few shells were thrown without any execution. A great number of teams were then employed in carrying off forage, &c. The enemy, who had been reinforced during these delays, sallied out, but were repulsed: soon after, the Americans retired, upon a report that some ships were gone up the North river. Gen. Heath's conduct was censured by men of sense and judgment, who were with him on the expedition. It was fraught with so much caution, that the army was disappointed, and in some degree disgraced. His summons, as he did not fulfil his threats, was idle and farcical, and tended to bring upon all of them the ridicule of their enemies. The Americans suffered much from the weather, and not less from the failure of the expedition. Many of them afterward crossed the North River, and proceeded to Morristown.

About the time this fruitless expedition commenced, and three days before gen. Washington's proclamation, plundering had become so prevalent among the Ame-

1777. rican troops, that his excellency had it inserted in general orders—"The general prohibits, both in the militia and continental troops, in the most positive terms, the infamous practices of plundering the inhabitants, under the specious pretence of their being tories. It is our business to give protection and support to the poor distressed inhabitants, not to multiply and increase their calamities. After this order, any officer found plundering the inhabitants under the pretence of their being tories, may expect to be punished in the severest manner. The adjutant general to furnish the commanding officer of each division with a copy of these orders, who is to circulate copies among his troops immediately." You will regret, that while the British and Hessians plunder the Americans, upon the plea of their being rebels; these should plunder their own countrymen upon the plea of their being tories. Humanity and good sense should dictate a different line of conduct, from a belief, that men of opposite sentiments may act conscientiously, while taking contrary parts in a civil contest.

Feb. 23. Near upon 2000 of the British went on a foraging party from Amboy. They attacked the American guards and drove them five or six miles. When the latter were reinforced by gen. Maxwell, with about 1400 men, chiefly militia, the others retreated with such precipitation, as to be able to return but two fires, and left behind them six of their men prisoners and two dead. Thus are the troops under lord Cornwallis watched, straitened, and obliged to undergo the hardships of a most severe and unremitting duty; though he has been strengthened by a brigade of British, and some companies of grenadiers and light infantry from Rhode Island. The order
for

for these troops was sent to lord Percy, gen. Clinton 1777. being gone to England. Lord Percy did not immediately comply; but returned for answer, that the enemy were collecting a large force near Providence, of which circumstance he supposed gen. Howe was unacquainted; that he thought it his duty to represent this matter, and to add, that he apprehended it would be dangerous to the service there, to send away so large a corps. Gen. Howe replied, that lord Percy knew the consequence of disobedience of orders, trial by court martial, and certain sentence of being broke; but that he was inclined to show his lordship all the indulgence that his services deserved, at the same time he insisted upon his orders being punctually obeyed. His lordship's feelings have been so hurt by this reply, that it is apprehended, he will not remain long in a situation that subjects him to gen. Howe.

The American recruiting service went on most wretchedly. The returns which gen. Washington received from different quarters, were of so extraordinary a nature, that he suspected the most abominable fraud and embezzlement of the public money. The accounts of desertion almost surpassed belief, and afforded him the highest probability, that officers were tempted, by the great bounty allowed, to exhibit a number of pretended recruits, that were never in reality enlisted. But the evil he complained of, was owing greatly to the prevailing method of enlisting men, viz. the paying of them the bounty, and then suffering them to ramble about the country, by which means they enlisted with half a dozen officers. Instead of being formidable by the middle of Mar. March, he wrote, "After the fifteenth, when gen. Lin-

1777. coln's militia leave us, we shall only have the remains of the five Virginia regiments, who do not amount altogether to more than five or six hundred men, and two of the other continental battalions very weak. The rest of our army is composed of small parties of militia from this state and Pennsylvania: and little dependence can be put upon the militia, as they come and go when they please. If the enemy do not move, it will be a miracle: nothing but ignorance of our numbers, and situation, can protect us." He has since owned, that during the latter part of this last winter, he and his army have remained at the mercy of the royal troops, with sometimes scarcely a sufficient body of men to mount the ordinary guards, liable every moment to be dissipated, if the enemy had only thought proper to march against them. The general's whole force, including militia, at Morristown and the several out-posts, amounted often to not more than 1500 men: and it has been asserted, upon apparently good authority, that he repeatedly could not muster more at Morristown than between three and four hundred. In writing officially upon the subject to the governor and council of Connecticut, the representation he gave of affairs, drew tears from the eyes of those who heard the letter read. While gen. Washington was at this low ebb with his army, gentlemen of five thousand pounds fortune or more, and many others who were men of substance, though not equal to that, did duty as sentinels at his doors and elsewhere.

Though gen. Howe made no capital stroke at the commander in chief of the Americans; yet he concerted an operation against the post which gen. M'Dougall occupied, and where a considerable quantity of provisions

sions and stores was deposited. A detachment of 500¹⁷⁷⁷ men under col. Bird, was convoyed by the Brune frigate to Peek's-kill, near fifty miles from New York. They landed on the 23d of March. As the general had Mar. but 250 men fit for duty, instead of 600 to guard the²³ place, which lay in a bottom and was not tenable, he fired the principal store-houses, and then quitted the town in order to occupy the important pass through the highlands on the east side of the river, about two miles and a half distant. The fire rendered useless the only wharf where it was practicable to embark the remaining stores in convenient time, which made it expedient to destroy the greater part. Col. Bird having done it, and hearing a reinforcement was expected by the Americans, re-embarked the same day. The loss of rum, molasses, flour, biscuit, pork, beef, wheat, oats, hay, tallow, iron pots, camp kettles, canteens, bowls, nails, waggons and carts, barracks, store-houses, sloops and petiaugers laden with provisions, was very considerable, far beyond what was given out by the Americans, though not of that importance and magnitude, as to answer the expectations of gen. Howe. Gen. Washington had repeatedly guarded the commissary against suffering any large quantities of provisions to lie near the water, in such places as were accessible to the enemy's shipping; but he had not been properly attended to.

The want of muskets occasioned a delay in forwarding the new troops from the Massachusetts: but many of the militia from that state were persuaded to remain at Morristown for some weeks longer than the fixed time of service. Fifteen hundred of the new troops would have been upon their march, but the general court

1777. could not supply them with arms. The perplexity occasioned by this circumstance was however of short continuance. On the day of its commencement, or the following, a vessel of fourteen guns from France arrived at Portsmouth with 364 cases, containing 11,987 stand: she had also on board a thousand barrels of powder, 11,000 gun-flints, 48 bales of woollens, and a small quantity of handkerchiefs, cottons, linens, and other articles. Congress were under a similar distress with the Massachusetts general court, as to the procuring of arms for gen. Washington's army: but obtained a similar relief, by the arrival of a vessel, with 10,000 stand, beside a great number of gun-locks. These seasonable arrivals will furnish an ample supply of arms: the main difficulty will now be to get men to use them. Doctor Franklin arrived at Nantz the 13th of December.

Mar.
24.

The brilliancy of the successes, which have attended the American arms since last Christmas, and their most happy consequences in changing the complexion of the times, must raise the character of gen. Washington as highly in Europe as it has done in America; and may lead sanguine spirits, who are strangers to the real circumstances of the country, to imagine that he will soon be able to drive all before him; but it will require his utmost abilities to act in so defensive a manner, as to secure himself from injury, and at the same time frustrate the offensive plans of the enemy. He is indeed to have the assistance of a body of cavalry, which will be of considerable advantage.

You will scarce think it beneath remarking, that when the royal army had possessed themselves of the Jerseys, and the American affairs were at the lowest ebb, there

was

was not a single state, or capital town or city, (if not ^{1777.} wholly in the power of the enemy) that made advances toward submission. But in the month of January, the tories rose to a great head, in the counties of Somerset and Worcester, in the state of Maryland; so that in the beginning of February, the congress were obliged to employ several battalions (before they could march forward to join gen. Washington) in suppressing the insurgents.

Committees, from the four New England states, had a meeting; since which their proceedings were laid before congress; and the last have resolved, “ That the Feb. plan for regulating the price of labor, of manufactures, ^{15.} and internal produce within those states, and of goods imported from foreign parts, except military stores, be referred to the consideration of the other United States; and that it be recommended to them to adopt such measures, as they shall think most expedient to remedy the evils occasioned by the present fluctuating and exorbitant prices of the articles aforesaid:—That for this purpose it be recommended to the legislatures, or in their recess, to the executive powers of the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, to appoint commissioners to meet at Yorktown in Pennsylvania, on the third Monday in March next, to consider of and form a system of regulation adapted to those states, to be laid before the respective legislatures of each state, for their approbation:—That for the like purpose, it be recommended to the legislatures, or executive powers in the recess of the legislatures of the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to appoint commissioners to meet at Charlestown in South Carolina on the first Monday in May next.”

1777. next." Some of the New England states had passed acts for regulating prices, before these resolutions.

Feb. 27. On the 27th congress adjourned to meet at Philadelphia the following Wednesday. Before adjourning they recommended to the several states, the passing of laws to put a stop to the distilling of grain.

Congress having dismissed doctor Samuel Stringer, director of the hospital in the northern department of the army, (at the same time they dismissed Dr. Morgan) gen. Schuyler took offence at it, and expressed himself unguardedly in some of his official letters: upon that Mar. 15. it was "Resolved, That as congress proceeded to the dismissal of doctor Stringer, upon reasons satisfactory to themselves, gen. Schuyler ought to have known it to be his duty to have acquiesced therein:—That the suggestion in gen. Schuyler's letter to congress, that it was a compliment due to him to have been advised of the reasons of doctor Stringer's dismissal, is highly derogatory to the honor of congress; and that the president be desired to acquaint gen. Schuyler, that it is expected his letters for the future, be written in a style more suitable to the dignity of the representative body of these free and independent states, and to his own character as their officer:—Resolved, That it is altogether improper and inconsistent with the dignity of this congress, to interfere in disputes subsisting among the officers of the army, which ought to be settled, unless they can be otherwise accommodated, in a court martial, agreeable to the rules of the army; and that the expression in gen. Schuyler's letter of the fourth of February—"That he confidently expected congress would have done him that justice, which it was in their power to give, and which

which he humbly conceives they ought to have done“ 1777.—were to say the least, ill-advised and highly indecent.”

“Resolved, That gen. Washington be informed, that 24. it never was the intention of congress, that he should be bound by the majority of voices in a council of war contrary to his own judgment:—That the commander in chief in every department be made acquainted, that though he may consult the general officers under him, yet he is not bound by their opinion; but ought finally to direct every measure according to his own judgment.”

In the month of January, gen. Howe discharged all the privates, who were prisoners in New York. Great complaints are made of the horrid usage the Americans met with after they were captured. The garrison of Fort Washington surrendered by capitulation to gen. Howe the 16th of November. The terms were, that the fort should be surrendered, the troops be considered prisoners of war, and that the American officers should keep their baggage and side arms. These articles were signed and afterward published in the New York papers. Major Otho Holland Williams, of Rawlings's rifle regiment, in doing his duty that day, unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy. The haughty, imperious deportment of the officers, and the insolent scurrility of the soldiers of the British army, soon dispelled his hopes of being treated with lenity. Many of the American officers were plundered of their baggage, and robbed of their side arms, hats, cockades, &c. and otherwise grossly ill-treated. He and three companions were (on the third day) put on board the Baltic-merchant, an hospital ship, then lying in the Sound. The wretchedness of his situation was in some degree alleviated, by a small pittance

1777. pittance of pork and parsnip, which a good-natured sailor spared him from his own mess. The fourth day of their captivity, Rawlings, Hanson, McIntire and himself, all wounded officers, were put into one common dirt cart, and dragged through the city of New York, as objects of derision, reviled as rebels, and treated with the utmost contempt. From the cart they were set down at the door of an old *waste* house (the remains of Hamden Hall) near Bridewell, which, because of the openness and filthiness of the place, he had a few months before refused as barracks for his privates; but now was willing to accept for himself and friends, in hopes of finding an intermission of the fatigue and persecution they had perpetually suffered. Some provisions were issued to the prisoners in the afternoon of that day, what quantity he could not declare, but it was of the worst quality he ever, till then, saw made use of. He was informed the allowance consisted of six ounces of pork, one pound of biscuit, and some peas per day for each man, and two bushels and a half of sea-coal per week for the officers to each fire-place. These were admitted on parole, and lived generally in waste houses. The privates in the coldest season of the year were close confined in churches, sugar houses, and other open buildings (which admitted all kinds of weather) and consequently were subjected to the severest kind of persecution that ever unfortunate captives suffered. Officers were insulted, and often struck for attempting to afford some of the miserable privates a small relief. In about three weeks he was able to walk, and was himself a witness of the extreme wretchedness his countrymen suffered. He could not describe their misery. Their con-

stitutions

stitutions were not equal to the rigor of the treatment they received, and the consequence was the death of many hundreds. The officers were not allowed to take muster rolls, nor even to visit their men, so that it was impossible to ascertain the numbers that perished; but from frequent reports and his own observations, he verily believed, as well as had heard many officers give it as their opinion, that not less than fifteen hundred prisoners perished in the course of a few weeks in the city of New York, and that this dreadful mortality was principally owing to the want of provisions and extreme cold. If they computed too largely, it must be ascribed to the shocking brutal manner of treating the dead bodies, and not to any desire of exaggerating the account of their sufferings. When the king's commissary of prisoners intimated to some of the American officers, gen. Howe's intention of sending the privates home on parole, they all earnestly desired it; a paper was signed expressing that desire: the reason for signing was, they well knew the effects of a longer confinement, and the great numbers that died when on parole justified their pretensions to that knowledge. In January almost all the officers were sent to Long Island on parole, and there billeted on the inhabitants at two dollars per week *.

The filth in the churches (in consequence of fluxes) was beyond description. Seven dead have been seen in one of them, at the same time, lying among the excrements of their bodies. The British soldiers were full of their low and insulting jokes on those occasions, but less malignant than the tories. The provision dealt out to

* The major's letter to col. Harrison, one of gen. Washington's secretaries, after being exchanged for major Acland.

1777 the prisoners was not sufficient for the support of life ; and was deficient in quantity, more so in quality. The bread was loathsome and not fit to be eaten, and was thought to have been condemned. The allowance of meat was trifling, and of the basest sort. The consequence was, a suspicion of a premeditated and systematical plan to destroy the youths of the land, thereby to deter the country. The integrity of these suffering prisoners was hardly credible. Hundreds submitted to death, rather than enlist in the British service, which they were most generally pressed to do. It was the opinion of the American officers, that Gen. Howe perfectly understood the condition of the private soldiers ; and they from thence argued, that it was exactly such as he and his council had devised. After gen. Washington's success in the Jerseys, the obduracy and malevolence of the royalists subsided in some measure. The surviving prisoners were ordered to be sent out for an exchange ; but several of them fell down dead in the streets while attempting to walk to the vessels*.

General Washington wrote to gen. Howe in the beginning of April, " It is a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners while in your possession, the privates at least, was such as could not be justified. This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out. Their appearance sanctified the assertion, and melancholy experience in the speedy death of a large part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty." The cruel treatment of the prisoners being the subject

* See col. Allen's pamphlets, and also the hon. William Henry Drayton's publication at Philadelphia, Oct. 24, 1778, addressed to the commissioners Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden.

of conversation among some officers, captured by Sir Guy Carleton, gen. Parsons, who was of the company, said "I am very glad of it." They expressed their astonishment, and desired him to explain himself. He thus addressed them, "You have been taken by gen. Carleton, and he has used you with great humanity, would you be inclined to fight against him?" The answer was, No. "So," added Parsons, "would it have been, had the troops taken by Howe been treated in like manner: but now through this cruelty we shall get another army." The honorable William Smith esq,* now at Haverstraw, learning how the British used the prisoners, and concluding it would operate to that end by enraging the Americans, applied to the committee of the New York state, for leave to go into the city, and remonstrate with the British upon such cruel treatment, which he doubted not but that he should put a stop to. The committee however, either from knowing what effect the cruelties would have in strengthening the opposition to Britain, or from jealousies of his being, in some other way, of disservice to the American cause, or from these united, would not grant his request. Gen. Gates has been repeatedly heard to say to the following purport—"Had gen. Howe seen to it, that the prisoners, and Jersey inhabitants, when subdued, were treated with as much humanity and kindness as Sir Guy Carleton exercised toward his prisoners, it would have been all up with the Americans."

The congress commissioners for treating with the Indians of the six nations, and their brethren on the Susquehanna, have had repeated meetings with them. They

* Since appointed chief justice of Canada.

1777. had one the last August at the German Flatts; when Adam, an Oghuaga Sachem, made mention of the line that was settled between the Indians and whites at the treaty at Fort Stanwix; and observed, that by the agreement the whites were not to encroach upon their lands; but that of late some of the white people had made encroachments by surveying their hunting grounds, close up to their habitations. He desired the commissioners to consider it, and hoped for redress. They assured the Indians, that the great council at Philadelphia would effectually put a stop to such wicked practices, and punish every person that should offend against their orders. "If any persons (say they) shall come upon your lands, we desire you will immediately bring them to the minister, that he may write down their names and inform us of it, and then we shall immediately proceed against them. Brothers, you may all rest assured, that no white people will be suffered to pass the line settled at Fort Stanwix; for although that agreement was made with the king, yet as you are satisfied with it, we shall take care that it is complied with." Since then, some of the Indians have complained of a number of people, who have gone over the line, and settled on the west branch of the Susquehanna, contrary to the Fort Stanwix treaty; and threatened they would not suffer them to stay. The people have not any legal claim to the ground in the opinion of the commissioners; who suppose that col. Butler, upon coming to Niagara, seized upon this affair as a fit instrument to foment a difference. But the difference, it is hoped, will be prevented by a late treaty at Easton, which ended February the sixth to mutual satisfaction. The commissioners say, "We remember
the

the agreement at Fort Stanwix. Our people ought not 1777.
to have bought, and your people not to have sold lands
contrary to the former agreement. We blame both.
We will tell this matter to congress, who will inquire,
and not suffer the old agreement to be broken by any
of their people. They will call the intruders back, and
do strict justice to both sides." The Indians seemingly
mean to adhere steadily to their engagements of neu-
trality; and absolutely protest against either the enemy
marching through their country by way of Niagara, to
attack the united states; or the army of the latter march-
ing that way to attack their enemy.

The Americans were not in readiness to begin their
naval hostilities at a distance from their own coasts till
late in the last year. That circumstance however, was
of no great disadvantage, by reason of an unexpected
occurrence. The discovery of an intended conspiracy
among the negroes of Jamaica, detained the fleet till af-
ter the customary time of sailing. Through this deten-
tion, it sailed at a season that was accompanied with
much tempestuous weather, which scattered the ships,
and exposed them to such American cruisers, as lay in
wait for them in the latitudes through which they were
to pass in their voyage homeward. The consequence
was, that many of them were taken by the American
privateers. The trade from the other islands suffered
proportionably; so that by the close of the year, the Bri-
tish loss in captures, exclusive of transports and govern-
ment store-ships, was considerably higher than a million
sterling. The privateers were at no difficulty as to the
disposal of their prizes. The ports of France and Spain,
especially the first, were open to them, both in Europe,

1777. and in their American dominions. In the last the captors sold them openly, without any colour of disguise. On remonstrances from the British court, a little more decorum was observed in Europe, and a check given to the avowed sale of them; for a while they were obliged to quit the harbours, and were purchased at the entrance, or in the offing. But in the West India Islands the real inclinations of the French were undisguised. They not only purchased the prizes as fast as they could be brought into port: they moreover fitted out privateers, under American colours and commissions, and with a few American seamen on board (at times probably not any) carried on a war upon the British commerce.

Though many have been the captures made by the ships and armed vessels of the British navy, they have not counterbalanced, either in number or value, those taken by the Americans from Great Britain. Several of them indeed were laden with flour, and other articles for the trade of the West Indies; and so proved a timely relief to the British islands, which were suffering much, through the deprivation they lay under, of those various supplies with which they had been before furnished from the American continent.

The ministerialists at New York will undoubtedly amuse the nation with accounts of the thousands, who have formed themselves into military corps under the auspices of gen. Sir William Howe, as he is now to be stiled from the honor conferred upon him, for his success on Long Island. But when the campaign comes to be opened by Sir William, you will find that they are reduced to hundreds; and that the acquisition of strength derived from the country, whatever flattering
appear-

appearance it may have upon paper, is no wise answer-^{1777.}
 able to the report. Gov. Tryon may parade in black
 and white before lord George Germain, with his two
 thousand nine hundred and seventy inhabitants of New
 York, who have qualified by taking an oath of allegi-
 ance and fidelity to his majesty. By the aid of the
 mayor, he may increase them to three thousand and
 twenty. He may add those attested on Staten island and
 elsewhere, and make the whole amount to five thousand
 six hundred men. He may also tell of the loyal inha-
 bitants of Queen's county, who have received eight
 hundred stand of arms, with demonstrations of joy, and
 with a professed resolution to use them in defence of the
 island *. But the service they will be of to government,
 in the great American contest, will be next to nought.

The *Georgia* representatives, met in convention, una-
 nimously agreed in a constitution for that state, on the
 5th of February.

L E T T E R IX.

London, June 7, 1777.

FRIEND G.

MR. Sayer sued lord Rochford, in the court of^{1776.}
 Common Pleas, about this time twelvemonth,
 for illegal imprisonment; the jury granted him a thou-

* See his letter published in the *Gazette*, and in the *Remem-
brancer*, vol. V. p. 101.

1776. sand pound damages, subject to the opinion of the court upon a point of law. Thus ended an affair, which in the commencement occasioned a great bustle among the people.

An unaccountable indifference possessed the nation, through the last summer. When at length the American cruisers, not only scoured the Atlantic, but spreading over the European seas, brought alarm and hostility to our doors—when the destruction which befell the homeward bound richly laden West India fleets, poured equal ruin upon the planters in the islands, and the merchants at home—even in that state of public loss and private distress, an unusual phlegm prevailed, and the same tranquil countenance was preserved, by those who had not yet partaken of the calamity.

Administration had acquired such an appearance of stability, as seemed to render them, for some considerable time to come, superior to the frowns of fortune. Supported by an irresistible majority in parliament, they were already armed with every power, which they were capable of desiring for the establishment of their American system. But the conduct of the French and Spaniards gave them just cause of alarm. The French and Spanish ministry not only connived at the encouragement given to the American privateers, but filled the ports of both kingdoms, with such indications as denoted that objects of far higher and more dangerous importance were in contemplation. The naval preparations carried on by the house of Bourbon, became at length so formidable, that sixteen British ships of the line were suddenly put into commission; and the usual methods taken for manning them, by a very hot unexpected

pected press, and the opening of houses of rendezvous ^{1776.} for such seamen, as would enter voluntarily upon the proffered bounty. Some days after, a proclamation was issued for a general fast through England and Wales, to be observed the 13th of December following.

The news of gen. Howe's success on Long Island, gave the highest satisfaction to administration, and the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences. The messenger of the operations had been but two days in London, before a title and badge of honor was bestowed upon the general.

On the last of October the session of parliament was ^{31.} opened. The royal speech seemed to breathe indignation and resentment against the people of America; and the receipt of assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe was still acknowledged. When the address of the house of commons in answer to it was produced, an amendment was moved for by lord John Cavendish, and supported by a speech perhaps the most remarkable of any that had been delivered since the commencement of the troubles, for the freedom and pointedness with which it was expressed. It entered into a comprehensive view of the conduct of the British ministry respecting America; and reproached them with the pursuit of schemes formed for the reduction and chastisement of a party, supposed to consist of some inconsiderate and factious men, but which had, in the issue, driven thirteen large colonies into an open and armed resistance. Every act of parliament, it said, proposed as a mean of procuring peace and submission, had proved, on the contrary, a new cause of opposition and hostility. The nation was now almost inextricably involved in a bloody

1776. and expensive civil war, which threatened to exhaust the strength of the British dominions, and to lay them open to the most deplorable calamities. No hearing had been given to the reiterated petitions of the colonies, nor any ground laid for a reconciliation, the commissioners nominated for the purpose of restoring peace, not being furnished with sufficient powers to bring about so desirable an end. It observed, that it must have been expected, that the American seamen and fishermen, being indiscriminately prohibited from the peaceable exercise of their occupations and declared open enemies, would betake themselves to plunder, and wreak their vengeance on the commerce of Great Britain. After a variety of other observations, it concluded with declaring—"We should look with the utmost shame and horror, upon any events that would tend to break the spirit of any part of the British nation, and to bow them to an abject, unconditional submission to any power whatsoever; to annihilate their liberties, and to subdue them to servile principles and passive habits, by the force of foreign mercenary arms; because amidst the excesses and abuses which have happened, we must respect the spirit and principles operating in these commotions. Our wish is to regulate, not to destroy them; for though differing in some circumstances, those very principles evidently bear so exact an analogy with those which support the most valuable part of our own constitution, that it is impossible, with any appearance of justice, to think of wholly extirpating them by the sword, in any part of the British dominions, without admitting consequences, and establishing precedents the most dangerous to the liberties of this kingdom." Debates pro and con succeeded.

ceeded. It was the same in the house of lords, where the royal speech underwent a no less severe scrutiny. Since the declaration of independence, the debates in parliament are less interesting to the Americans than formerly, brevity in the account of them will therefore be most acceptable. The opposition said—"What can ministers mean by assurances of friendly and pacific sentiments from abroad? Poor politicians must they be, who depend upon such assurances, in the best of times, from those quarters whence they now come. Old grudges are not so easily forgotten; and this nation has every thing to apprehend from those to whom it has done so much mischief in the last war. Resentment and ambition will go hand in hand upon this occasion, and will not lose so fair an opportunity of revenge, as that which is opened by this fatal quarrel between Great Britain and her colonies. The preparations of those powers who speak so friendly a language are no secret; their partiality to the Americans shows their intentions to this country; their encouragement to the privateers, which are capturing the British merchantmen, is a sufficient earnest of the designs that are uppermost in their councils, and is but a prelude to what we are to expect, as soon as circumstances have brought their plans to maturity. A war with the whole house of Bourbon, and perhaps with other powers, will be the inevitable consequence of continuing hostilities in America; but such a war at present, will no longer resemble those we have formerly waged with the princes of that family. Powerful as they were at that time, they will still be much more formidable now that the strength of America will be thrown into their scale. It is a sorrowful, but a true

1776. reflection, that one half of the British nation, is become an instrument in the hands of our natural enemies, with which most effectually to distress the other. Impelled by these cogent reasons, it is the duty of every man who feels them, to oppose an address, approving of measures which must, if persisted in, terminate in calamities, that will give such deadly wounds to Britain, as may prove incurable, and bring her to such a state of debility, as will, from one of the first powers in the world, reduce her to hold but a secondary rank among the European nations."

Administration urged in favor of the address—"Nothing is recommended by it, that tends to oppress the Americans: no more is required of them than a return to the same obedience, which every other subject is bound to pay. Is it consistent with the wisdom of the nation, to throw away the fruits of the infinite cares and expences it has bestowed upon the colonies, while any hope remains of reclaiming them from their defection? To give them up, will be to resign the wealth, the strength, and the importance of Great Britain: these are evidently at stake in the present contest: should the issue of it be contrary to what is hoped by all well wishers to their country, its fall and degradation will be the necessary consequence. The season for arguing is over. The Americans have bid us defiance, and are become our enemies: the sword is therefore to decide: it is now to be seen, whether we can reduce them to obedience by superior force. It is time to assert our national dignity and supremacy; we are in full strength and vigor; the resources of the country are far from being exhausted. They cannot be employed upon a more critical and necessary

cessary occasion than the present. The successes of the 1775. last campaign in America, afford a well grounded prospect of settling affairs to our satisfaction. A spirited prosecution of the business in hand will speedily conclude it. Much is threatened from abroad, and great terrors are held out, and we are told that occasion will be taken from these unhappy broils, to do Great Britain irreparable damage. But the prudence of government has fully obviated these objections. A sufficient force is preparing to face all dangers at home; and the prosperity of our arms abroad has, it is well known, cast a damp on all the partisans of the Americans throughout Europe. However well they may wish them, the most inveterate of our foes will not venture to engage in so distant a quarrel, until they see better signs of its terminating to the advantage of our opponents. We are now in the career of victory; and it will betray weakness to be driven out of it by mere apprehensions. The people at large are now greatly alienated from the Americans: however they might once have been inclined to favor them, they are full of resentment at their late conduct. The declaration of independence has entirely altered their opinion of the colonists."

The conclusion of the debates was, the carrying of the address in the house of lords by 91 votes to 26; and in the house of commons by 232 to 83. The declaration of independence lost the Americans many advocates; but the great bulk of those who had hitherto espoused their cause, dreaded the success of ministerial measures against them, from an apprehension of the danger which would result from it to the liberties of this country. They were therefore, before and after the

8

opening

1776. opening of the session, indefatigable in representing the necessity of putting an end to a dispute, which they considered as ruinous in every shape, whether the British arms did or did not prevail.

Nov. 6. A motion was made in the house of commons by lord John Cavendish, for a revival of all those acts by which the colonies thought themselves aggrieved. It was grounded on a paragraph in the declaration of the commissioners given at New York, the 19th of September, in which mention is made of "the king's being most graciously pleased to concur in the revival of all acts by which his subjects in the colonies may think themselves aggrieved." The motion was opposed with great warmth; and in the sequel of the debate, it was asserted by ministry, that until congress had rescinded the declaration of independence, no treaty could be entered into with America. Such an assertion was severely censured by opposition, as being no less than a denunciation of war, and all its calamities, unless the Americans implicitly admitted the principal point in litigation, without any preliminary stipulation. The motion was rejected by a majority of 109 to 47. This rejection exasperated the minority so violently, that a part of them avowedly withdrew whenever any questions relating to America were proposed, and from this period left the house to the full and undisturbed possession of the majority.

They justified this secession, by alleging, that an attendance on these matters was nugatory; the weight of numbers was irresistible, and baffled all arguments. It was a degrading office alway to contend with a certainty of being defeated. There was a time when reasoning

was listened to, and had its due influence; but as experience had shown, that time was no more, it was wiser to acquiesce in silence, than to undergo the fatigue of a fruitless opposition. The season was not yet come for the nation to be undeceived. It was the interest of so many to continue the deception, that it would last till an accumulation of calamities had oppressed the public so as to be felt by all degrees. Such amazing numbers were benefited by the measures of ministry, that till defeats, disappointments, and losses of every kind, had disabled them from pursuing their schemes any longer, they were sure of a ready support from those whom they employed in their execution. For these reasons they judged it necessary to refuse their presence to transactions which they disapproved, and could not hinder: but whenever they perceived that adversity had, as usual, opened the eyes of men, they would then come forth anew, and endeavour, if possible, to remedy the evils which it was not at present in their power to prevent.

The strength of ministry was now so decisive, that whatever was proposed, was immediately approved, and carried without any opposition or debate.

A bill was brought in for granting letters of marque and reprisals against the Americans. This was followed by another to empower the crown to secure such persons as were accused, or suspected of high treason (committed either in America or at sea) or of piracy. By the provisions of this bill, they were liable to be detained in custody without bail or trial, while the law continued in force: it was reserved solely to the privy council, to admit them to either. His majesty was also empowered by

1777. by warrant, to appoint one or more places of confinement within the realm, for the custody of such prisoners.

This bill spread a general alarm through the metropolis; and a petition was presented by the city against it, condemning the measures proposed in it, as violent and unconstitutional, subversive of the sacred and fundamental rights of the people, subjecting them to the most cruel oppression and bondage, and introductive of every species of mischief and confusion. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table; but probably made way for the introduction of a provisional clause, enacting “that no offences shall be construed to be piracy within the meaning of the act, except acts of felony committed on the ships and goods of his majesty’s subjects by persons on the high seas.”

The bill however, did not pass without opposition and severe animadversion. It was said, that it armed ministers with an unconstitutional and dangerous power. A mere pretended suspicion or foolish credulity, in a mercenary tool of a ministerial magistrate, might render the inhabitants of above half the empire liable to imprisonment without bail or mainprize. It did not require an oath, nor that the parties should be heard in their own justification, nor confronted with the witnesses, nor that two witnesses should be deemed necessary for the colourable ground of a commitment. The few who opposed it, contended that no lawful or obvious reason subsisted for investing the crown with so unusual a power. Such an extraordinary measure could only be tolerated in cases of great domestic danger, when the realm or constitution were immediately threatened; but neither

of these could be pleaded in the present instance. After 1777. a long debate, the bill passed by a majority of 195 to 43. The opposition would have been stronger, but the seceding party would not afford their assistance.

“ Before this act, every man putting his foot on English ground, every stranger, even a negro slave, became as free as every other man who breathed the same air with him. As things now stand, every man in the West Indies, every inhabitant of three unoffending provinces on the American continent, every person coming from the East Indies, every gentleman who has travelled for his health or education, every mariner who has navigated the seas, is, for no other offence, under a temporary proscription *.”

The two bills received the royal assent on the third of Mar. 3.

Toward the close of the last year, and in the beginning of the present, much confusion, apprehension, and suspicion, was excited by the machinery of a wretched enthusiast and incendiary, since well known by the appellation of *John the Painter*, but whose real name was James Aitken, born at Edinburgh and bred a painter—a most profligate and abandoned villain.

After having committed the most atrocious crimes, he shipped himself off for America, where he continued about two years, and from whence he returned in March 1775. The violence of the language and sentiments then held in political matters, by the people among whom he lived, gave birth to that enthusiastic madness, which afterward became so dangerous. Under its baneful influence he returned to England with the most dreadful

* Mr. Edm. Burke's letter to the sheriffs of Bristol.

1777. antipathy to the government and nation; and adopted the design of subverting, in his own single person, that power which he so much abhorred, by setting fire to the dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns, with their shipping of whatsoever sort, so far as it could possibly be done. He constructed fire-works, machines and combustibles for the purpose, but was strangely unsuccessful in all his attempts. Owing to this failure in his machines, the nation was providentially saved from receiving some dreadful, or irretrievable shock. He however succeeded in setting fire to the rope-house in the yard at Portsmouth, the beginning of last December. The next month, while party and political disunion prevailed among the inhabitants of Bristol, he attempted, first to burn the shipping, and afterward the city. He succeeded only so far as to set fire to some warehouses near the key, six or seven of which were consumed. He was soon after his departure from Bristol taken up on some suspicious circumstances; and being circumvented by one Baldwin another painter, the whole scene of iniquity was brought to light. Baldwin pretended to sympathize with him under his misfortunes, and to hold principles similar to his own; and often visited him, till he at length obtained his confidence and drew from him the history of his crimes. He told Baldwin, that he had been in France, and seen Mr. Silas Deane, who had given him some money; had encouraged him to set fire to the dock-yards at Portsmouth, Plymouth, &c. as the best means of distressing Great Britain; and had promised to reward him according to the service he should do to the American cause. He said, that Deane, as an earnest of what should follow, had given

given him a recommendation to, and bills upon a merchant in London, to the amount of 300*l.* which however he had found it necessary to burn to prevent a discovery; and that in consequence of this encouragement he procured a passport from the French king. He was condemned at Winchester assizes, and executed at Portsmouth dock-gate the tenth of March, and then hung in chains. While he lay at Winchester after condemnation, and before being taken away to execution, he denied his having recommendations and bills, and burning the same. It was while working at Titchfield in Hampshire, that he conceived the idea of setting fire to the dock yards. He then went, as he said, to France, and applied to Mr. Deane, who told him, that when the work was done he should be rewarded. He added, that on his return, and after setting fire to the rope-yard at Portsmouth, he went to London and waited on Doctor Bancroft, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Mr. Deane, but that the doctor gave him no countenance, and did not approve of his conduct.

When gen. Lee's capture came to be known by the gazette of February the twenty-fifth, the rejoicing in Great Britain on the occasion was great. Personal animosities contributed not a little to the triumph and exultation it produced. But the same gazette furnished more than a counterpoise to the joy, in the accounts it contained of gen. Washington's successes at Trenton and Princeton.

The name of Lee reminds me of Mr. *Arthur Lee*. The latter received timely notice of the acts of congress, so as to withdraw and get to Paris a few days after Dr. Franklin's arrival. While in England he was particularly

1777. larly commissioned by a certain body, and that under every sacred promise of secrecy, to make discoveries and transmit them to America: he was also personally consulted by Monsieur Caron de *Beaumarchais* upon a project, which the latter had formed, of establishing a commercial house, sufficiently powerful and spirited, to hazard the risks of the sea and enemy in carrying stores and merchandise for the American troops. A correspondence was afterward opened between them: and on the 21st of June 1776, Mr. Lee, under the name of Mary Johnston, wrote in cyphers to Mr. *Beaumarchais*, that the army of Great Britain in America would consist of forty thousand men, and their fleet of a hundred ships, and but two only of seventy-four guns. He advised the dispatching secretly ten large ships of war to the Cape or Martinico; and their joining the American fleet, scouring the American coast, and destroying the whole British fleet dispersed as it would be, upon which success the land army could be easily defeated. "By this stroke," says he, "the English fleet will be mortally wounded. Do you fear that this will kindle a war between the two nations? But how will England be able to support a war without fleets, without colonies, without seamen, without resources? On the contrary, if you suffer America to fall again under the dominion of England, the latter will be for ever invincible." If this proposal was communicated to the French minister, it was adjudged too venturous to be prosecuted. Though France must, for her own interest, wish to have the American states perpetually separated from Great Britain, yet the court will be cautious of risking a rupture with this country till the prospects of success are extremely

tremely encouraging. This accounts for the French '1777' king's issuing out, about the month of February, a proclamation, prohibiting the sale of English prizes, taken by American privateers, in any of the ports of France: but as the purchase of them is not prohibited, and the sale of them only in the ports, the Americans will find no difficulty in disposing of them to Frenchmen. The police of France is so well constructed, that they can easily convey to the extremities of the kingdom, the views and sentiments of the court, and secure a ready compliance with them. It is only for the minister to give the farmers-general his instructions; and for them, through their lines of connection with every province, city, town and village, to distribute their directions; on which the inhabitants of the most distant parts will think, speak and act mechanically, in unison with their betters at Versailles.

On the 20th of February, the British ambassador at the Hague, presented a memorial to their high mightinesses containing various complaints; and closing with an express demand of a formal disavowal of the salute by Fort George at St. Eustatia, to the American flag, and of the dismissal and immediate recall of the governor; followed by a further declaration, that till that satisfaction was given, they were not to expect that his majesty would suffer himself to be amused by mere assurances, or would delay one instant to take such measures as he should think due to the interests and dignity of his crown. Their high mightinesses disdaining the spirit and manner of the complaint, passed by the ambassador (Sir Joseph Yorke) and also the secretary of state, and commanded their minister at London, the

1777. count de Walderen, to address himself directly to the king, and to deliver their answer into his own hands; which was done March the 26th. They complained of the reproaches contained in the ambassador's memorial, and the menacing tone which reigns in it, strained beyond what ought to take place between two sovereign and independent powers. They did not disguise the poignant sensation with which it had impressed them. They afterward mentioned their having ordered the governor home to give the necessary information of what had passed; and their resolution to disavow every act or mark of honor that actually intended in the least degree to recognise the independence of the North American colonies. On the 10th of April, lord Suffolk, by letter, assured the count, that his majesty accepted with satisfaction the memorial he had addressed to him; but that his majesty could not perceive in Sir Joseph Yorke's memorial, any thing contrary to what ought to take place between sovereigns and independent powers in the weighty circumstances in question.

In February and April, Messrs. Franklin and Deane sent to lord Stormont, two letters on the subjects of an exchange of British seamen, prisoners in the hands of the captain of an American frigate, for an equal number of American seamen prisoners in England; and of the cruel treatment the American prisoners meet with in Europe, in being either compelled by chains, stripes and famine, to fight against their friends and relations, or sent to Africa and Asia, remote from all probability of exchange. They had for answer—"The king's ambassador receives no applications from rebels, unless they come to implore his majesty's mercy." They pronounced it

it an *indecent* paper, and returned it for his lordship's more mature consideration. The news of gen. Clinton's being created a knight of the Bath, will be no otherwise important to the Americans, than as a direction how to address him in future.

A fresh effort was made in the house of lords, to bring about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, as they are here still called. The earl of Chatham had been prevented of late, by his advanced age and infirm state of health, from taking an active part in the disputes of the house. But viewing with concern the dangers which menaced the kingdom, he determined again to come forth from his retreat, and endeavour to influence the contending parties to listen to terms of accommodation. On the 30th of May, he entered the house wrapped in flannel, and bearing a crutch in each hand. His lordship, sitting in his place and with his head covered, delivered a speech wherein he explained the grounds of the motion he was about to make. He recapitulated and reprobated the measures which had been taken with the Americans, from the voting away of their property without their consent, to the attempting of their conquest by the aid of German mercenaries. He endeavoured to show the absurdity of relying longer on the force of arms, and very pathetically pressed the necessity of a speedy conciliation. After speaking for fifty minutes, he moved for an address to the throne, "most humbly to advise his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to hostilities upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; and to assure his majesty, that the house will enter upon

1777. this great and necessary work with cheerfulness and dispatch, in order to open to his majesty the only means of regaining the affection of the British colonies, and of securing to Great Britain the commercial advantages of those invaluable possessions; fully persuaded, that to heal and redress will be more prevalent over the hearts of generous and free born subjects, than the rigors of chastisement and the horrors of civil war, which have hitherto served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate union, and if continued, must end finally in dissolving all ties between Great Britain and the colonies."

This brought on an interesting and animated debate, which terminated in the question's being put, when lord Chatham's motion was rejected by a majority of 99 to 28. The ministry had obtained all they wanted from parliament; were confident in their own conceit, and in the success of their measures; and would attend to no remonstrances of reason.

The general assembly of the church of Scotland, in an address to his majesty, among many expressions of loyalty declared, that, sensible of their own felicity, they observed with concern the first appearances of a turbulent and ungovernable spirit among the people of North America; that they had with astonishment contemplated its alarming progress, and beheld fellow subjects, who enjoyed in common with them, the blessings of his majesty's mild administration, take up arms in opposition to lawful authority, disclaim the supremacy of the British legislature, reject with disdain the means of conciliation, and labor to erect their unlawful confederacy into separate states. They then, with reverence and gratitude to Divine Providence, offer their congratulation.

tions for the success which has attended the fleets and 1777.
armies, that have been employed to oppose the violence
of rebellious subjects, and to reclaim them to a sense
of their duty; and conclude with acknowledging it their
immediate duty, in the present situation of public af-
fairs, to increase their diligence, not only in confirming
the people under their care in sentiments of loyalty, but
by inciting them to such reformation in their hearts and
lives, as will avert from their country those judgments
which their iniquities justly deserve.

His majesty went to the house of peers, and after June
giving his royal assent to a number of bills, closed the 6.
session with a speech, which finished with saying, " My
lords and gentlemen, I trust in Divine Providence, that
by a well-concerted and vigorous exertion of the great
force you have put into my hands, the operations of
this campaign, by sea and land, will be blessed with such
success as may most effectually tend to the suppression
of the rebellion in America, and to the re-establishment
of that constitutional obedience which all the subjects of
a free state owe to the authority of the law."

In the beginning of May, a captain Cunningham, in
a privateer fitted out from Dunkirk, took and carried
into that port the British packet going to Holland. Not
understanding thoroughly the business on which he was
sent, and being hurried, he was not careful to secure in-
stantly, upon the capture of the vessel, the packet in-
trusted with the king's messenger, which he therefore
missed of; but the mail was taken and forwarded to the
American commissioners at Paris. Adieu.

L E T T E R X.

Roxbury, October 30, 1777.

1777. **B**E not surpris'd at reading, that there is in the United States, one enemy more formidable than famine, pestilence and the sword—a prevailing corruption in American hearts, a depravity more incompatible with their republican governments than darkness with light. Such languor and supineness reigns every where, that they seem unable to effect any point, though ever so important and interesting. In the military department, it looks as if all public spirit was sunk into the means of making money by the service, or quarrelling upon the most trivial points of rank. Did you know the pullings and haulings, the jealousies and emulations of the military and other gentlemen, which come before congress, you would be greatly confirmed in your ideas of the sameness of human nature in Britain, here, and every where.

April 8. Congress concluded upon the erection of a monument to the memory of gen. Warren, in the town of Boston; and another to the memory of gen. Mercer, in Fredericksburg, in Virginia; and that the eldest son of gen. Warren, and the youngest son of gen. Mercer, be educated from henceforward at the expence of the United States. They conveyed in a few words the highest eulogium on the characters and merits of the deceased. As

Mercer

Mercer had a good landed estate, the propriety of adopting his youngest as the child of the public was obvious. 1777. Through inattention, gen. Warren, who fell on Breed's-hill, had not been properly noted when congress passed their resolve respecting gen. Montgomery: the proposal for paying due respect to the memory of Mercer, led to the like in regard to Warren.

But to advert to military operations. Gen. Lincoln was posted with only 500 men fit for duty at Boundbrook, to guard an extent of five or six miles, which occasioned their flanks being exposed. Lord Cornwallis formed the design of attacking this post, and chose the morning of the 13th for its execution. The plan 13. was exceedingly well laid, and nearly as well executed. Gen. Lincoln had expected a manœuvre of this kind, and been particularly cautious against a surprise. The enemy however, through the neglect of the patrols, crossed the Rariton just above the general's quarters, undiscovered till they had advanced within 200 yards of him. At the head of this party, consisting of about 1000 men, were generals Cornwallis and Grant. About 1000 were advanced up each side of the Rariton to Boundbrook, to attack the Americans in front, where the action began nearly at the same time the others were surrounding Lincoln's quarters. This happened between day break and sun rise. The general and one of his aids had just time to mount and leave the house before it was surrounded. The other aid, with the general's papers and their baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. The artillery consisting of one six pounder, and two three pounders, were also taken. Gen. Lincoln went immediately to give directions to those engaged in front;

1777 while lord Cornwallis flung a party into the rear of the right of the Americans. Another party, from their reserve body of about 2000, was flung over Boundbrook in the rear of the left, with the design of encircling the Americans and preventing their retiring to the neighbouring mountain. Lincoln was hereby reduced to the necessity of being either imprifoned with the whole party in front, or of paffing between the two columns of the enemy, which had nearly clofed. But he effected his paffage with the fmall lofs of not more than 60 killed, wounded and taken. The enemy foon evacuated the place, after destroying twenty barrels of flour, a few casks of rum, and fome other articles.

Congrefs are well affured, that Sir William Howe had the laft year instructions from miniftry, to fecure the North River, and thereby to feparate the northern from the fouthern ftates. The general's fuccesses carried him into the Jerseys, and led him to believe, that the bufinefs with the Americans was at a clofe, fo that the North River was neglected. Under a perfuafion that Philadelphia was the object this year, congrefs refolved upon forming a camp immediately on the western fide of the Delaware.

April 15, The following prudential act was paffed—"Whereas the continental battalions are all on a footing, liable to the fame kind of fervices, and entitled to equal privileges; Refolved, That the appellations—congrefs's own regiment—general Washington's life guards, &c.—given to fome of them, are improper and ought not to be kept up; and the officers of the faid battalions are required to take notice hereof, and to conform themfelves accordingly."

“ Resolved,

" Resolved, That the stile of the committee of secret correspondence be altered, and that for the future it be stiled—the committee of foreign affairs; that a secretary be appointed to the said committee. Congress proceeded to the election of the said secretary, and the ballots being taken, Thomas Paine was elected,"—the author of *Common Sense*. 1777.
17.

" The committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the enemy reported : 18.

" That in every place where the enemy has been, there are heavy complaints of oppressions, injury and insults suffered by the inhabitants from officers, soldiers and Americans disaffected to their country's cause. The committee found these complaints so greatly diversified, that as it was impossible to enumerate them, so it appeared exceedingly difficult to give a distinct and comprehensive view of them, or such an account as would not, if published, appear extremely defective, when read by the unhappy sufferers or the country in general."

" In order however, in some degree, to answer the design of their appointment, they determined to divide the object of their inquiry into four parts—First, the wanton and oppressive devastation of the country and destruction of property.—Second, the inhuman treatment of those who were so unhappy as to become prisoners.—Third, the savage butchery of many who had submitted or were incapable of resistance.—Fourth, the lust and brutality of the soldiers in the abusing of women."

" They will therefore now briefly state what they found to be the truth upon each of these heads separately,

1777. ly, and subjoin to the whole, affidavits and other evidence to support their assertions."

" 1. The wanton and oppressive devastation of the country and destruction of property."

" The whole tract of the British army is marked with desolation and a wanton destruction of property, particularly through West Chester county in the state of New York; the towns of Newark, Elizabeth-town, Woodbridge, Brunswick, Kingston, Princeton, and Trenton, in New Jersey. The fences destroyed, the houses deserted, pulled in pieces or consumed by fire, and the general face of waste and devastation spread over a rich and once well cultivated and well inhabited country, would affect the most unfeeling with melancholy or compassion for the unhappy sufferers, and with indignation and resentment against the barbarous ravagers. It deserves notice, that though there are many instances of rage and vengeance against particular persons, yet the destruction was very general and often undistinguished; those who submitted and took protections, and some who were known to favor them, having frequently suffered in the common ruin. Places and things, which, from their public nature and general utility, should have been spared by a civilized people, have been destroyed, or plundered, or both. But above all, places of worship, ministers and religious persons of some particular protestant denominations, seem to have been treated with the most rancorous hatred, and at the same time with the highest contempt."

" 2. The inhuman treatment of those who were so unhappy as to become prisoners."

" The

“ The prisoners, instead of that humane treatment 1777. which those taken by the United States experienced, were in general treated with the greatest barbarity. Many of them were near four days kept without food altogether. When they received a supply, it was both insufficient in point of quantity, and often of the worst kind. They suffered the utmost distress from cold, nakedness and close confinement. Freemen and men of substance suffered all that a generous mind could suffer, from the contempt and mockery of British and foreign mercenaries. Multitudes died in prison; and when others were sent out, several died in the boats while carrying a shore, or upon the road attempting to go home. The committee in the course of their inquiry learned, that sometimes the common soldiers expressed sympathy with the prisoners, and the foreigners more than the English. But this was seldom or never the case with the officers; nor have they been able to hear of any charitable assistance given them by the inhabitants who remained in, or resorted to the city of New York; which neglect, if universal, they believe was never known to happen in any similar case in a christian country.”

“ 3. The savage butchery of those who had submitted and were incapable of resistance.”

“ The committee found it to be the general opinion of the people in the neighbourhood of Princeton and Trenton, that the enemy the day before the battle of Princeton had determined to give no quarter. They did not however obtain any clear proof, that there were any general orders for that purpose; but the treatment of several particular persons at and since that time, has been of the most shocking kind, and gives too much

1777. countenance to the supposition. Officers wounded and disabled, some of them of the first rank, were barbarously mangled or put to death. A minister of the gospel in Trenton, who neither was nor had been in arms, was massacred in cold blood, though humbly supplicating for mercy"—[Mr. Roseburgh of the Forks of Delaware.]

" 4. The lust and brutality of the soldiers in the abusing of women."

" The committee had authentic information of many instances of the most indecent treatment, and actual ravishment of married and single women; but such is the nature of that most irreparable injury, that the persons suffering it, and their relations, though perfectly innocent, look upon it as a kind of reproach to have the facts related, and their names known. They have however procured some affidavits, which will be published in the appendix. The originals are lodged with the secretary of congress."

" Some complaints were made to the commanding officers upon the subject, and one affidavit made before a justice of peace; but the committee could not learn that any satisfaction was ever given or punishment inflicted, except that one soldier at Pennington was kept in custody for part of a day."

" On the whole, the committee are sorry to say, that the cry of barbarity and cruelty is but too well founded; those who are cool to the American cause, have nothing to oppose to the facts but their being incredible, and not like what they are pleased to stile, the generosity and clemency of the English nation. The committee beg leave to observe, that one of the circumstances most frequently occurring in the inquiry, was the opprobrious
disdainful

disdainful names given to the Americans; these do not need any proof, as they occur so frequently in the newspapers printed under their direction, and in the intercepted letters of those who are officers and call themselves gentlemen. It is easy therefore to see what must be the conduct of a soldiery greedy of prey, toward a people whom they have been taught to look upon, not as freemen defending their rights on principle, but as desperadoes and profligates, who have risen up against law and order in general, and with the subversion of society itself."

"This is the most candid and charitable manner in which the committee can account for the melancholy truths which they have been obliged to report. Indeed the same deluding principle seems to govern persons and bodies of the highest rank in Britain: for it is worthy of notice, that not pamphleteers only, but king and parliament, constantly call those acts lenity, which on their first publication filled this whole continent with resentment and horror."

"Resolved, That the said report be accepted, and that the committee, who brought it in, publish the same with the affidavits."

The royalists, or tories as they are generally called, in the Maryland counties of Somerset and Worcester, became so formidable, that an insurrection was dreaded; and it was feared, that the insurgents would in such case be joined by a number of disaffected persons in the county of Sussex in the Delaware state. Congress, to prevent the evil, recommended the apprehension, and April removal of all persons of influence or of desperate characters within the counties of Sussex, Worcester and Somerset,

1777. Somerset, who manifested a disaffection to the American cause, to some remote place within their respective states, there to be secured; and authorized the governor of Maryland to detain the weakest continental battalion, till further orders.

From appearances, the friends of America had reason to believe, that the tories in the New England governments and New York state had also concerted an insurrection. Gen. Gates, who had been sent to command April 23. in the northern department, wrote to gen. Fellows—
 “The committee of Albany, alarmed at the amazing increase, and plots of the tories in this and the Mohawk's country, have desired me to apply to you and the committee of Berkshire, to send immediately a strong reinforcement of militia, not less than a complete regiment, to secure this place (Albany) and the magazines at different posts between Albany and Lake George.”

Sir William Howe having obtained intelligence, that the Americans had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in Danbury and the neighbourhood, ordered an expedition to be undertaken for the destruction of them, under the command of gov. Tryon, who had accepted of the rank of major general of the provincials, and aspired after a military character. Sir William very prudently appointed gen. Agnew and Sir William Erskine to accompany him upon the service. A detachment of about 2000 men passed through the Sound, under the convoy of a proper naval armament; and landing between Fairfield and Norwalk, a little before sunset, advanced without interruption, and arrived the following day, a little after one in the afternoon, at Danbury, about 23 miles distant. The handful of continentals

mentals there, was obliged to evacuate the town, having 1777- previously secured a small part of the stores, provisions, &c. The enemy, on their arrival, began burning and destroying the remainder, together with 18 houses, their furniture, linen, &c. which were judged, from circumstances, to have been singled out for that purpose. In one they killed two elderly men and a negro, and then burnt them with the house. Not one of the tory houses was damaged. They destroyed at Danbury 1800 barrels of pork and beef; 700 barrels of flour; 2000 bushels of wheat, rye, oats and Indian corn; clothing for a whole regiment; and 1700 tents, which, through their scarcity, were a great loss to the Americans. To these must be added about 100 barrels of flour, and 100 hogsheads of rum, which met with the same fate upon the road by which they returned: these are the main articles that were destroyed. The burning of the houses appears to have been unnecessary, and wholly the effect of malevolence.

On the first approach of the British armament the country was alarmed: and early the next morning, gen. Silliman, with about 500 militia (all that had then collected) pursued the enemy. He was joined on his way by gens. Wooster and Arnold, and a few more militia. A heavy rain so retarded their march, that they did not reach Bethel (a village two miles from Danbury) till eleven at night. An attack on the British was postponed till they should be upon their return. On the 27th in the morning, the royal troops quitted Danbury. The Americans were early in motion. Two hundred remained with gen. Wooster; and about 400 were detached under gens. Arnold and Silliman. About nine o'clock gen. Wooster was informed, that the enemy had taken

1777. taken the road to Norwalk, on which he pursued them; came up with, and harassed their rear; and took 40 prisoners, but was mortally wounded. Gen. Arnold, by a forced march across the country, reached Ridgefield at eleven; made a barricado on a rising ground across the road; posted his small party of 500 men (100 having joined him) so as to have his right flank covered by a house and barn, and his left by a ledge of rocks; and thus waited the approach of the enemy; who, upon discovering the Americans, drew up and advanced in a heavy column, extending themselves in order to outflank and surround them. They marched up, and received several fires, which they returned briskly. For ten minutes the action was very warm, till they had made a lodgment on the rock, when a retreat was ordered. After gaining the rock, they levelled a whole platoon at Gen. Arnold within 30 yards; and yet but one shot had effect, and that killed his horse. He had presence of mind to take his pistols, and got safe off, by shooting a soldier dead, who was advancing hastily to run him through with his bayonet. The Americans continued to keep up a scattering fire for the remaining part of the day. The British halted all night at Ridgefield; and in the morning attempted to burn the church, in which was a considerable quantity of pork and wheat, but the fire was extinguished without having done any material damage. They however fired four private houses which

April 28. were consumed. Monday about sun rise, they renewed their march; but perceiving that Arnold, with a number of men, was on the road to Norwalk, they filed off to the east, forded Sagatuck river, and marched by the side of it on a ridge of hills. The Americans kept on the west side

side nearly half a mile from them. Each cannonaded 1777. the other at times very warmly. About three o'clock in the afternoon, col. Deming and a small party of continental troops, forded the river up to their middle, undiscovered by the enemy, and fell on their rear and left, and galled them exceedingly. The Americans marched on till they got to Sagatuck bridge, about two miles from Campo of which the enemy possessed themselves after landing; when both being upon high land, a furious cannonading ensued, which continued for fifteen minutes. The British then pushed on with vigor to reach their shipping. Arnold with a division pursued closely; and by a quick march gained an eminence on the right flank of the enemy's rear. An incessant fire of field pieces and small arms followed for a small time, but with little or no execution. The Americans could not pursue further without being exposed to the fire of the ships. The van of the British immediately embarked. The centre and rear formed on the hill. While the field pieces were playing on the boats, col. Lamb of New York advanced with a party of 200 men within 100 yards of the enemy on the hill, and galled them from behind a stone wall. They in about ten minutes sent a party from their right to flank the Americans, and advanced another party from their front, who came running down the hill with great fury. Notwithstanding the spirited exertions of col. Lamb, his party instantly retreated in great disorder, and were pursued to the foot of the hill; and not a single man would venture to support them. Those who were at hand, sought their own safety by a speedy flight. The remain-

1777. der of the British soon after embarked without further molestation.

Thus ended an affair, which reflects much honor on gen. Arnold for his personal bravery; but not much upon gen. Tryon's expedition (if the plan was his) as the destruction of American property was not a sufficient compensation for the loss which the detachment under him sustained. The enemy allow that the excursion cost them dear; and from various accounts and circumstances, there is little reason to doubt, but they had at least four hundred killed, wounded and taken. A great number of the Connecticut militia assembled; but not more than 6 or 700 of them subjected themselves to any order, the rest were mere spectators: of such as did subject themselves, too many behaved in a disgraceful cowardly manner. Their assembling however, and exerting themselves as they did, served to show in a striking point of view, the spirit of opposition prevailing among the people. The loss of the Americans was about twenty men killed and forty wounded. Doctor Attwater, a gentleman of considerable influence, was among the slain. Col. Lamb received a violent contusion on his back from a grape shot, while attempting to rally his men. Gen. Arnold was exposed at the same time, and had his horse shot through the neck. Gen. Wooster languished for a few days under the wound he had received, and died on the second of May. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory, as an acknowledgment of his merit and services. The general behaved with great valor, and lost his life gloriously in defending the liberties of America, at the

advanced age of seventy. Proper notice was taken 1777. of general Arnold, on the twentieth of May, when congress resolved, " That the quarter-master general be directed to procure a horse, and present the same properly caparisoned, to major gen. Arnold, in the name of this congress, as a token of their approbation of his gallant conduct in the action against the enemy in their late enterprise to Danbury, in which gen. Arnold had one horse killed under him, and another wounded." They had chosen him major general on the second of May.

General Washington concluding that a bridge which the British had been preparing at Brunswick, was intended for the conveying of them across the Delaware, directed Mr. Mersereau to procure the exact breadth of the river from Corriel's ferry to the falls, that so knowing that and the length of the bridge, which he meant to obtain, he might penetrate where it was that they designed to pass over. Instead of his army's gathering strength, proportionable to the exigencies that existed, he had to complain of the uncommon prevalency of desertion in it. The deficiency in some of the corps which joined him, from that and other causes, was almost incredible. It was the case, that too many convict servants were purchased from their masters by the recruiting officers; and on such there could be no reliance. The general wrote, " Nothing but a good face and false May appearances have enabled us hitherto to deceive the 21. enemy respecting our strength."

General Parsons, knowing that the British commissaries had been employed in procuring forage, grain, and other necessaries for the royal army, which were deposited

1777. at Sagg harbour, projected a scheme for destroying them; and employed col. Meigs in executing it. The colonel left New Haven, with his men in thirteen whale boats on the 21st of May, and proceeded to Guilford. The wind being high and the sea rough, he could not pass the Sound till Friday the 23d. He then left Guilford at one o'clock in the afternoon, with one hundred and seventy men of his detachment, under convoy of two armed sloops, and in company with another unarmed to bring off prisoners, and crossed the Sound to the north branch of the island near Southhold, where he arrived about six in the evening. He ordered the whale boats, with most of the men, over land to the bay, where they reembarked to the number of one hundred and thirty, and at about twelve o'clock arrived safe across the bay (which separated between the north and south branch of the island) within about four miles of Sagg harbour: the boats being first secured in the wood, under the care of a guard, the colonel marched with the remaining detachment, in the greatest order and silence, and at two o'clock arrived at the harbour. The several divisions

May 24. with fixed bayonet, attacked the guards and posts assigned them. The alarm soon became general, when a schooner of 12 guns and 70 men began a fire: the Americans returned it, and fired the vessels and forage, killed and captivated all the soldiers and sailors, except six who escaped under cover of the night. Twelve brigs and sloops (one an armed vessel with 12 guns) about a hundred tons of pressed hay, oats, corn (meaning Indian) and other forage, ten hogshheads of rum, and a large quantity of merchandise were consumed. The colonel returned safe with all his men to Guilford by two o'clock

in

in the afternoon, with ninety prisoners (having in twenty-^{1777,} five hours, by land and water, transported his men full ninety miles) without having a single man killed or wounded. The enemy had six killed. Congress have since ordered an elegant sword to be presented to him.

General Washington, at length being somewhat re-inforced, quitted Morristown toward the end of May; and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, took possession of the strong country about Middle Brook. His whole force however, present and fit for duty, including what were under gen. Sullivan (who lay at a small distance from him) with matrosses and one hun-^{June} dred and eighty cavalry, amounted, on the 9th of June, ^{9.} to no more than 7271 *. He wrote on the 12th, "A council of general officers all agreed, that our present army was insufficient to make a proper resistance, or to attack Howe's united force, or to make an impression upon him should he leave us unmolested, and march through the flat country toward the Delaware." The plea that Sir William Howe made for not taking the field, was the want of tents and field equipage, which were not sent him in time.

The articles arriving, together with a body of Anspachers, and a number of British and German recruits, he passed over to the Jerseys, marched from Brunswick on the night of the 13th, and took the field. But he was ^{13.} not attended with that number of provincials which was expected. "Mr. Oliver Delancey, reputed the most likely man in New York to induce the loyalists of that province to join the king's troops, was appointed a brigadier general, and authorized to raise three battalions,

* From the general returns of the army.

*777. to consist of 1500 privates. Every possible effort was used by him and gov. Tryon, not only in the districts possessed by the king's troops, but by employing persons to go through the country, and invite the well-affected to come in. Several of the officers, anxious to complete their corps, sought for recruits among the prisoners, and ventured to hold out to them the temptations of pay, liberty and pardon. Notwithstanding all these efforts and encouragements, gen. Delancey raised only 597 men." —" Mr. Courtland Skinner, who is acknowledged to possess considerable influence in the Jerseys, was also appointed a brigadier general, and authorized to raise five battalions, to consist of 2500 privates. The same efforts were made as for the raising of Delancey's corps, but Skinner's numbers amounted only to 517 *." No sooner had gen. Howe taken the field, but the Jersey militia turned out in a very spirited manner, as though determined, in conjunction with the continentals, to harass and oppose the royal army on their march through the country. The general came out as light as he could, leaving all his baggage, provisions, (except enough to subsist the troops two or three days at a time) boats and bridges at Brunswick; which, in the judgment of gen. Washington, forcibly contradicted the idea of an expedition toward the Delaware. Every appearance coincided to confirm the opinion, that Howe intended in the first place a stroke at his army. The American general reasoned thus: "Had their design in the first instance been to cross the Delaware, they would probably have made a strict rapid march toward it, and not have halted, as they have done, to awaken our attention, and give

* Sir William Howe's Narrative, p. 49.

his time to make every preparation for obstructing¹⁷⁷⁷ them *.” Of the sudden retreat of the royal army, the general wrote on the 20th, “ The enemy decamped the^{June 20.} night before last, and have returned to their former position. It appears to have been in consequence of a sudden resolution, as they had raised a chain of redoubts from Somerset to Brunswick. What may have determined them to change their plan is hard to tell. Whether alarmed at the animation among the people—disappointed in the movements they may have expected us to make, thence concluding their design impracticable—or whether they may have an operation in view in some other quarter, the event must show.” Howe’s front extended to Somerset Court house, about nine miles; his rear remained at Middle Bush, half way between that and Brunswick. Washington was encamped upon his right flank (as he marched) at the distance of about five miles. His troops were so disposed under Sullivan and himself, as to have been capable of giving a pretty successful opposition. When the royal army retreated back to Brunswick, they burnt and destroyed the farm houses upon the road. Their cruelties to the inhabitants were inexpressible. They ruined and defaced every public edifice, particularly those dedicated to the Deity. They removed their baggage to Amboy, for which place they set out on the 22d. The evening before,^{22.} several pieces of information, and a variety of circumstances, made it evident to the American general, that a move was in agitation, and it was the prevailing opinion that it would be the next morning. The general therefore detached three brigades under gen. Greene, to

* General Washington’s letter of June 17.

1777. fall upon the rear, and kept the main body paraded to support them, if necessary. A party of col. Morgan's light infantry attacked, and drove the Hessian piquet about sun-rise. The enemy, upon the appearance of Wayne's brigade, and Morgan's regiment opposite Brunswick, immediately crossed the bridge to the east side of the river, and threw themselves into redoubts. The Americans advanced briskly upon them, upon which they quitted the redoubts without making opposition, and retired by the Amboy road. In the pursuit, col. Morgan's riflemen exchanged several sharp fires with the enemy, which did considerable execution. From intelligence through various channels, there was reason to believe, that their loss was considerable, and fell chiefly on the grenadiers and light infantry, who formed their covering party. Gen. Howe arrived at New York on Sunday afternoon, the whole of which day was employed in removing the wounded soldiers from the docks to the hospitals there, said to amount to some hundreds*. One of the American generals humorously wrote concerning Sir William Howe's returning to Brunswick by night—"General Howe remained five days, and then sneakt off by night, and it is well he did—for had he went by day, we could have done nothing, but have looked at him."

Lieutenant colonel Palfrey, formerly an aid-de-camp to gen. Washington, and now paymaster general, wrote to his friend, "I was at Brunswick just after the enemy had left it. Never let the British troops upbraid the Americans with want of cleanliness, for such dog kennels as their huts were my eyes never beheld. Mr. Burton's

* A letter to gen. Washington, Remembrancer, Vol. V. p. 269.

house, where lord Cornwallis resided, stunk so I could not bear to enter it. The houses were torn to pieces, and the inhabitants as well as the soldiers have suffered greatly for want of provisions."

General Washington, upon the enemy's retreat to June Amboy, with the advice of his general officers, moved ^{24.} the whole army to Quibble-town, that he might be nearer to the royal forces, and might act according to circumstances. The British general, after sending over from Amboy to Staten Island, the heavy baggage and all the encumbrances of the army, ordered a number of the troops to follow; with an intention of deceiving the Americans into an opinion, that they had nothing more to apprehend from that quarter. The troops returned the evening of the 25th, and the next morning, the general advanced unexpectedly with his whole army, in ^{26.} two columns, from Amboy. Gen. Washington conjectured, that so sudden a movement, was designed either to bring on a general engagement, upon terms disadvantageous to the Americans; or to cut off their parties, and lord Stirling's division, which had been sent down to support them: or to possess the heights and passes in the mountains on the left of the continental army. The two last were adjudged to be the first object of Howe's attention, as his march was rapid against these parties, and indicated a strong disposition to gain the passes. Upon this, gen. Washington judged it absolutely necessary to move his force from the low ground to occupy the heights before the enemy, which was effected with much dispatch. The enemy fell in with some of the light parties, and a part of lord Stirling's division. His lordship was in no hurry to retreat, but pre-

1777 preferred engaging for a while, wherein he made a choice, for he had nearly been cut off, by the right column under lord Cornwallis. He lost three field pieces, but the loss of men was trifling. The enemy's loss in the several skirmishes of the day, was thought to be more considerable than that of the Americans. The royal army continued the pursuit as far as Westfield; but the woods and intense heat of the weather prevented its effect. When the American general had gained the passes, he detached a body of light troops to watch their motions, and afterward ordered Morgan's riflemen to join the service. The British remained till the next day about three in the afternoon, and then returned to Raway, and the day following to Amboy. On the 30th, at ten o'clock in the morning, the troops began to cross over to Staten Island, and the rear guard passed at two in the afternoon, without the least appearance of an enemy. Thus they evacuated the Jerseys, to enter upon new conquests, in hope of reducing the United States to unconditional submission. Unless they can hold, when they have conquered, they will never accomplish the business assigned them by the British ministry.

Let us leave gen. Howe engaged in embarking his army from Staten Island, and preparing for some grand expedition; that we may attend to the affairs of the northern department.

Gen. Schuyler presented a memorial to congress, explaining the expressions in his letter which had given them offence. They resolved, on the 8th of May, that the explanation was satisfactory, and that now they entertained the same favorable sentiments concerning him, which they entertained before that letter was received. This seems

to have been designedly preparative to what followed a fortnight after, when it was resolved, "That Albany, Tyconderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, be henceforward considered as forming the northern department: That major gen. Schuyler be directed forthwith to proceed to the northern department, and take the command there." It was said, that he was the only single man who could keep the New York subjects united against the common enemy, and that his presence was absolutely necessary for their immediate succour and service, as well as that of the United States closely connected therewith. The New England delegates, the president excepted, opposed his being directed to take the command, as it superseded general Gates. But they were obliged to yield to numbers, at a time when unluckily some men were absent, who would otherwise have turned the scale. The choice of gen. Schuyler caused great boasting, though there were only five states out of eleven in favor of the measure, the others were either against it, or could not vote for want of the requisite number of delegates, or their being equally divided. There is what numbers deem a New York party in congress; whose proceedings have in some instances been mysterious. An absolute order for relinquishing the western lines and Tyconderoga was pushed for, before the choice of Schuyler, but did not prevail: however it was resolved, that gen. Gates should be empowered to abandon Tyconderoga at pleasure.

It was incumbent on the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts in particular, and Connecticut, to furnish the troops necessary for the defence of the northern posts; but a strange remissness prevailed, greatly from
an

1777. an expectation that Tyconderoga would not be attacked. The Massachusetts general court learning that this was the opinion of the commander in chief, neglected forwarding their quota of men. Reports (occasioned probably by the arts of the enemy) were spread that the troops in Canada were to join gen. Howe. Members of congress were deceived by them, so that gen. Gates, after he had taken the command, wrote, that he had the strongest assurances from congress, that the king's troops were all ordered round, by the river St. Lawrence to New York, leaving only a sufficient number to garrison their forts. Gates estimated, that for the defence of Ty and its dependencies, 11,700 continentals, beside the aid of the militia, would be wanted. Schuyler afterward estimated them at 10,000, but then he thought the lines at Mount Independence not one half so extensive as he found them.

The British operations against this department, were taken out of the hands of Sir Guy Carleton, and committed to the charge of gen. Burgoyne. The force allotted to them, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to more than 7000 men, exclusive of the artillery corps. Of these, the Germans, mostly Brunswickers, exceeded 3200. Arms and accoutrements were amply provided to supply those royalists, who were expected to join the army, as soon as it penetrated the frontiers of the United States. A powerful brass train of artillery was furnished, probably the finest, and the most excellently supplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army, not exceeding the present in number. Beside the regular forces, several tribes of Indians were induced

induced to come into the field. It has been generally supposed, that Carleton's scruples upon the point of employing them, were by no means acceptable to ministry. They were considered as a principal member of the force destined to the prosecution of the northern war; and the governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to use his utmost influence in bringing them forward in support of it. In the execution of the proposed operations, gen. Burgoyne was seconded by able and excellent officers, gen. Phillips of the artillery, gens. Frazer, Powel and Hamilton, with the Brunswick generals, Baron Reidesel and gen. Specht. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition: the troops were in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy. Col. St. Leger was detached by way of Oswego to make a diversion on the Mohawk River. He had 220 men from the eighth and thirty-fourth regiments, Sir John Johnson's corps of New Yorkers lately raised, some Hanau chasseurs, a company of Canadians, and a party of Indians, beside the expectation of being joined by a much larger number. His force did not probably exceed 800 men. The main army under gen. Burgoyne proceeded up Lake Champlain, landed and encamped at no great distance from Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congress, and afterward in compliance with their customs, gave them a war feast. He made a speech to them, calculated to excite their ardor in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their barbarity. He enjoined it upon them, that they should only kill those who opposed them in arms; that old men, women, children and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual

June 21.
con-

1777. conflict; that they should only scalp those whom they had slain in fair opposition; but that under no pretence should they scalp the wounded, or even dying, much less kill persons in that condition. They were promised a compensation for prisoners, but informed that they should be called to account for scalps. Four days before this speech, gen. Schuyler arrived at Ty; but did not find the post, in so good a state of defence as he expected. He imagined, that the proposed obstructions (which had been ordered by congress the last December, and which had been backed by his order given in February, and repeated the fifth of June) would have been completed, or at least considerably more advanced. That they were carried on with no more dispatch, was imputed greatly to the late arrival of such troops, as could be brought to work with spirit; to artificers not coming by the time they were ordered; and to a want of working cattle. Gen. St. Clair would before this have called in the militia, but for the state of his magazine; which made him apprehend, that should they come in fast, they might eat him out, before the arrival either of the enemy or a supply.

June
29.

General Burgoyne issued out a proclamation, meant to spread terror among those Americans, who avowedly professed themselves the friends of congressional measures; and especially to excite in them a fear of the Indians, whose number was magnified, and eagerness to be let loose on their prey described with uncommon energy. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, were held out to the peaceable, who continued in their habitations. All the outrages of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those

who

who persevered in their hostility. But the people at large 1777, were so far from being frightened, that they diverted themselves with the proclamation, as a complete model of pomposity.

General St. Clair hoped, that the enemy would have assaulted him; and depended on that for rendering his small garrison serviceable to his country, as he was persuaded that his troops were brave; and, in case of an assault, would have given a good account of the assailants. But the moment he was informed of Burgoyne's numbers, and saw that a regular siege was meant, he was certain that the effectual defence of the posts was impossible. The old French lines at Ty had been strengthened with additional works. There were other posts with works and blockhouses toward Lake George. Opposite Ty, on the eastern shore of the inlet by which the waters from Lake George empty themselves into Lake Champlain, a high circular hill, alias Mount Independence, was strongly fortified. These two posts were joined by a floating bridge, below which a slight boom was thrown across the lake, and large caissons were sunk above, but this arduous work for obstructing the navigation was not completed. Instead of a full complement of troops, to man the extensive lines and defend the numerous works, the whole force consisted only of 2546 continentals, beside 900 militia, badly equipped and worse armed, particularly in the article of bayonets, which not above one in ten had. The smallness of the garrison would not admit of their possessing themselves of Sugar-hill alias Mount Defiance, which by its height and proximity had such an entire command both of Ty and Mount Independence, that an enemy might from thence have

1777. have counted their very numbers, and enfiladed every part of their works, as had been discovered months before upon trial, when a cannon had been drawn up and fired from the top of it.

On the near approach of the right wing of the royal army upon the Tyconderoga side, the Americans abandoned their works toward Lake George, and left gen. Phillips to possess the advantageous post of Mount Hope, without making any resistance, which must have been ineffectual, and could have answered no good purpose. That apparent supineness and want of vigor with which they were chargeable, was not occasioned by cowardice, or incapacity, but actual imbecility. Gen. Burgoyne's troops proceeded with much expedition, in the construction of their works, the bringing up of artillery, stores and provisions, and the establishment of their posts. But what gave the greatest alarm was, the very rapid progress they made in clearing a road, and getting artillery on Sugar Hill. When once they had erected a battery on this height, only a few hours more would have been required to have invested the Americans on all sides, which might have been effected by occupying the ground on the east side of Lake Champlain below Mount Independence, where the pass from the lake to East Creek is very narrow. The same reason which prevented gen. St. Clair's calling in the militia, when the royal army was at a distance, prevailed when they drew nearer. Having received intelligence by spies, that in twenty-four hours the investiture would be completed, when he should be cut off from all possibility of succour, gen. Schuyler not having force sufficient at fort Edward to relieve him, he determined to evacuate his posts, though
he

he knew it would produce such astonishment as had not happened since the commencement of the war. If he was sensible at the time, that should he remain there, he would save his character but lose the army; whereas did he go off, he should save the army but lose his character; and did he courageously conclude upon sacrificing the last to the cause in which he was engaged, he deserves the warmest commendations. A council of war was called, and it was unanimously concluded upon to evacuate as soon as possible. The general by evacuating intended to throw his troops between the country and the royal army, that the militia might have a body to collect to, whereas Burgoyne would otherwise be at liberty to pursue his operations without any obstacle. Proper measures were immediately taken for effecting the evacuation. Orders were given to the troops to take with them, before they left the ground, eight days provision, sufficient to have carried them to the North River had they pursued the route intended. The general meant to push for Skeensborough, and there to have met the 200 boats and 5 armed galleys, on board of which were embarked at night as much cannon, stores and provisions as time would permit. The officer in the Jersey redoubt was to continue firing his cannon every half hour, toward the battery the enemy were erecting opposite to him till further orders, that there might be no suspicion of the manœuvres going forward. All the cannon that could not be removed were to be spiked up, and many were. The knocking off of the trunnions was omitted, as it might alarm the enemy. Previous to striking the tents every light was to be put out. Though the evacuation was resolved upon about three in the afternoon,

1777. ternoon, it could not be carried into execution till night; and it was at a season when the nights were at the shortest, and when it was moon light. The necessity of keeping the matter a secret until the very moment, prevented any preparatory steps to expedite the business. Hence difficulties arose, which occasioned some irregularities in the different embarkations, and made it impossible to prevent all disorder. But for want of gen. Fermoy's circulating proper orders in season to his brigade, and of due attention on his part, every thing appeared in the greatest confusion on Mount Independence.

July 6. At two o'clock in the morning St. Clair left Tyconderoga. About three, the troops were put in motion for the evacuation of the Mount, but Fermoy having set fire to his house (contrary to positive orders) the whole Mount was enlightened by it, so that the enemy had an opportunity of seeing every movement, which damped the spirits of the Americans, and induced them to push off in a disorderly manner. Col. Francis brought off the rear guard in good order about four o'clock. Many regiments after a while recovered from their confusion through the exertions of St. Clair. Upon the army's arriving at Hubbardton, they were halted for near two hours. The rear guard was increased by many who at first did not belong to it, but were picked up, through an inability of keeping up with their regiments. Most of the stragglers and rear guard having joined, the army was again put in motion. The rear guard was here given to col. Warner, with orders to follow as soon as the whole came up, and to halt about a mile and a half short of the main body (which was to continue that night at Castleton, about six miles from Hubbardton)

bardton) and to march in the morning by four, and join 1777. it. Castleton is thirty miles from Ty, and twelve from Skeensborough. Col. Warner, with the rear guard and stragglers, amounting to near 1200, determined to remain at Hubbardton that night, because the men were much fatigued. In the morning the general paraded the army, and waited near two hours for the rear guard.

When gen. Frazer perceived in the morning of the evacuation, that the Americans were retiring, he commenced a pursuit with his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers and some other corps. Gen. Reidesel with most of the Brunswickers, was ordered by the British commander to join in the pursuit, either to support Frazer or to act separately. The latter continued the pursuit through the day; and receiving intelligence that St. Clair's rear was at no great distance, ordered his troops to lie that night on their arms. In the morning he came up with the Americans, commanded by col. Warner, who had beside his own, the regiments of cols. Francis and Hale. The British advanced boldly, and the two bodies formed within about 60 yards of each other. Frazer began the attack about seven o'clock, expecting every moment to be joined by Reidesel, and apprehending that if he delayed, the enemy would escape. Hale being apprized of the danger, never brought his regiment to the charge, but fled; so that Warner could bring into action no more than about seven hundred men. The conflict was bloody. Francis fell fighting with great bravery. Warner, officers and soldiers, behaved with much resolution and gallantry, so that the British broke and gave way; but soon formed again,

1777. and running on the Americans with their bayonets*, the latter were put into no small confusion, which was increased by the critical arrival of gen. Reidesfel with the foremost of his column, consisting of the chasseur company and eighty grenadiers and light infantry, who were immediately led into action. They now fled on all sides. Gen. St. Clair heard when the firing began, and would have supported Warner; but the troops that were nearest, two militia regiments, would not obey orders, and the others were at too great a distance. Hale, who had attempted to get off by flight, fell in with an inconsiderable party of British, and surrendered himself with a number of his men prisoners. The Americans lost 324 in killed, wounded and prisoners, among the last were 12 officers. The royal troops, including British and Germans, had not less than 183 killed and wounded. They had 3 officers killed and 12 wounded†. While St. Clair was at Castleton, an officer of one of the galleys arrived with information that the British were pursuing in force toward Skeensborough, and would reach it before he could get there. This determined him to change his route, and to strike into the woods on his left, lest he should be intercepted at Fort Anne. Two New England regiments of militia, Leonard's and Wells's, discovered such a plundering disposition on their march, and behaved so disorderly during the whole retreat, that two days after leaving Castleton he was

* Burgoyne's State; earl of Balcarras', and earl of Harrington's declaration.

† This account of the killed, wounded and prisoners, on both sides, is extracted from the journal of a British officer, who was afterward taken, and who mentioned the names of the officers killed and wounded on his own side.

obliged to dismiss them from the army with disgrace*. 1777. Gen. Burgoyne confiding in Frazer's abilities to conduct the pursuit of the Americans by land, turned his attention to the pursuit by water. The boom and the other obstructions of the navigation, not having been completed, were soon cut through; so that the gun boats, the Royal George and the Inflexible frigates had passed by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the vessels, and the pursuit was supported with such vigor, that by three in the afternoon, the foremost brigade of gun boats was engaged with the enemy's gallies near Skeensborough falls. Upon the approach of the frigates, opposition ceased, two of the gallies were taken, and the other three blown up. The Americans not being in sufficient force to make an effectual stand, set fire to their works, fort, mills and batteaus; and escaped as they could up Wood Creek to Fort Anne, where they were joined by others, ordered thither by gen. Schuyler, who lay at Fort Edward. On the day of the engagement at Hubbardton, the general was obliged to strip the men at the last fort, to send to the troops at the former; by which his own were left without lead for some days, except a mere trifle from Albany, obtained by stripping the windows. At this period he had not above seven hundred continentals, and not above twice the number of militia; and could not furnish small cannon sufficient for a couple of little schooners on Lake George. Lieut. col. Hill was detached by gen. Burgoyne from Skeensborough with the ninth regiment, to take post near Fort Anne, and watch

* Consult the Trials of generals St. Clair and Schuyler for many facts related respecting them.

1777. the motions of the Americans. The next morning at
 July
 8, half past ten, they attacked him in front, with a heavy and well-directed fire. A large body passed the creek on the left, and fired from a thick wood across the creek on the left flank of the regiment; they then began to recross the creek, and attack it in the rear. It took post on the top of a hill on the right to prevent being surrounded. No sooner had it taken post, than they made a vigorous attack, which continued for upward of two hours, and would certainly have carried their point, had it not been for some Indians, who arrived and gave the Indian war whoop, which was answered by the regiment with three cheers, after which the Americans soon gave way*. They then fired the fort, and retreated to Fort Edward. The artillery lost by the evacuation of the northern posts, and taken or destroyed in the armed vessels at Skeensborough, was prodigious, amounting to no less than 128 pieces serviceable and unserviceable. The loss of flour, biscuit, pork and beef, was also very considerable.

General St. Clair joined gen. Schuyler at Fort Edward on the twelfth, after a fatiguing march, in which the army suffered much from bad weather and want of provisions. Three days after, their whole strength did not exceed 4400 men, including militia. The day following the affair at Fort Anne, Schuyler ordered a brigade of militia to begin, as near the fort as possible, to fell trees; to take up the bridges, and burn the covering and timber; and to make the utmost obstructions. A
 16, continental brigade was directed to assist in destroying

* Major Forbes's account to the house of commons, from Burgoyne's State,

and completely stopping the roads. The same day, gen. 1777. Schuyler took out of a canteen with a false bottom, a letter written by Mr. Levius to gen. Sullivan. Schuyler prepared an answer, designedly worded so as to deceive and perplex Burgoyne; which he signed Canteen, communicated to several gentlemen, and then forwarded. The British general when it was received, could not tell what to make of it. He was puzzled for two or three days, and at a loss whether to proceed or retreat; the letter was so completely enigmatical*.

Happily for the Americans, the British general continued for several days, with the army partly at Skeensborough, and partly spread in the adjoining country, waiting the arrival of tents, baggage and provision. In which time no labor was spared in opening roads for advancing toward Schuyler, and in clearing Wood Creek of all impediments laid in the way, in order to open a passage for the batteaus. Like exertions were used at Ty, in carrying gun boats, provision vessels and batteaus over land into Lake George. By reason of the route which the general took, he did not arrive at Hudson's River, and fix his head quarters near Fort Edward, till the 30th of July. Fort Edward is no more than the 30. ruins of a former fort, and of no consequence to any party. It could afford no cover to gen. Schuyler, and only gave a name to the place where it was situated. The general left it several days before Burgoyne gained its neighbourhood. He gave this state of his army on the 27th, at Moses' Creek, in an official letter—"It

* When the general was prisoner, he made this acknowledgment to one of Schuyler's suite, whom he asked whether he knew any thing of it, and who pretended ignorance.

1777. consists of about 2700 continental troops:—of militia from the state of Connecticut—one major—one captain—two lieutenants—two ensigns—one adjutant—one quarter master—six sergeants—one drummer—six sick, and three rank and file fit for duty—the rest after remaining three or four days deserted us:—Of those from the county of Berkshire (in the Massachusetts) who consisted of upward of 1200, half of which were to have remained, somewhat more than 200 are left, the remainder having also deserted:—Of col. Moseley's regiment from the county of Hampshire (Massachusetts) about ten or twelve are left, the rest having deserted. Of col. Porter's regiment of the county of Hampshire, about 200 left:—Of the militia of the county of Albany, 1050 are left, being forty-six more than half of what were upon the ground, when it was resolved to let half return to their habitations." He added, "That torpor, criminal indifference, and want of spirit which so generally prevails, is more dangerous than all the efforts of the enemy. Nor is that jealousy and spirit of detraction, which so unhappily prevails, of small detriment to our cause." The next day he wrote from Saratoga, twenty miles below Fort Edward, and thirty-seven above Albany, "Every effort of the enemy would be in vain, if our exertions equalled our abilities, if our virtue was not sinking under that infamous venality, which pervades throughout and threatens us with ruin."

The desertions above mentioned were not to the enemy, but to their own homes: Schuyler was for some reasons a very unacceptable commander to the New England militia. They were in general disgusted with, and would not serve under him. There were no desertions

tions to the royal army worth noticing, which argues ^{1777:} there were no lurking seeds of disaffection to the American cause.

Had the British commander returned immediately to Ty, and advanced from thence in the most expeditious manner, with a few light field pieces, instead of suffering any delay, in order to his dragging along with him a heavy train of artillery, he might have been at Albany by the time he got to Hudson's River*. Your correspondent, the fifth of October the last year, breakfasted with gen. Gates at Ty; sailed in company up Lake George (about 35 miles long) with their horses in batteaus; landed, stayed awhile, and reached Fort Edward (about 9 miles from Fort George) at night a little after eight. From Ty to Lake George is rather more than two miles. The two small schooners on the lake, could have made no long resistance against a brigade of gunboats. Fort George was well adapted to keep off Indians and small parties: but not to stop the royal army. The Americans there, instead of defending the fort, or opposing the landing of the army, would undoubtedly have retreated to gen. Schuyler at Fort Edward. The latter felt himself so weak, that by the 1st of August he drew back from Saratoga to Stillwater (25 miles north of Albany) from whence he wrote on the 4th, "We have not above 4000 continental troops; if men, one third of which are negroes, boys, and men too aged for field or indeed any other service, can be called troops. The states from whence these troops came, can determine why such boys, negroes and aged men were sent. A great part of the army took the field in a manner naked,

* General Gates has repeatedly said as much in my hearing.

1777. without blankets, ill armed, and very deficient in accoutrements. Too many of our officers would be a disgrace to the most contemptible troops that were ever collected; and have so little sense of honor, that cashiering them seems no punishment. They have stood by, and suffered the most scandalous depredations to be committed on the poor, distressed, ruined and flying inhabitants." He had also about fifteen hundred militia.

The evacuation of Tyconderoga and Mount Independence, surprised gen. Washington; and spread astonishment and terror through the New England states. The general was led to believe that the garrison was much stronger. The Massachusetts general court were faulty in not having seasonably forwarded their quota of troops, agreeable to the requisition of congress. The apprehensions of the Massachusetts people were the greater, as their military friends, with gen. Washington's army, informed them, that the expedition which Sir William Howe had undertaken, and for which he was embarking his troops from Staten Island, was meant against Boston. But amid all the disasters which had happened, and the consequent terrors, no sort of disposition to comply with British propositions, appeared in any quarter. Notwithstanding the success that had attended the northern army, and the military storm that was gathering at Sandy Hook, and no one state's knowing where it would fall, yet each discovered a determination to remain independent. The American commander in chief received information, that the common report among the sailors and soldiers was, that the fleet was going to the Delaware: but as Howe's conduct was to him puzzling beyond measure, so were the informations he obtained.

One

One time the ships were standing up toward the north river. In a little while they were going up the Sound; and in an hour after they were sailing out of the Hook. Before their sailing, a spirited adventure took place on the side of Rhode Island, which not only fully retaliated the surprisal of gen. Lee, but procured an indemnification of his person. Lieut. col. Barton, of a militia regiment belonging to that state, with several other officers and volunteers, to the number of forty, passed by night from Warwick neck to Rhode Island, and though they had a passage of ten miles by water, eluded the watchfulness of the ships of war and guard boats which surrounded the island. They conducted their enterprise with such silence and dexterity, that they surprised gen. Prescott in his quarters, about one mile from the water side, and five from Newport, and brought him with one of his aids-de-camp safe to the continent, which they had nearly reached before there was any alarm among the enemy. This adventure, which with impartial judges must outweigh col. Harcourt's capture of gen. Lee, produced much exultation on the one side, and much regret on the other, from the influence it would necessarily have on Lee's destination. But more than a month before, congress had received information that Lee was treated by gen. Howe with kindness, generosity and tenderness, which had led them to desire that col. Campbell and the five Hessian officers should be treated in a similar manner, consistent with the confinement and safe custody of their person's. They resolved, within a few days after hearing of Prescott's being taken, that an elegant sword should be provided and presented to col. Barton,

The

1777. The British fleet and army which lay at Sandy Hook were destined for the reduction of Pennsylvania, particularly of Philadelphia, in pursuance of a plan which had been settled between Sir William Howe and lord George Germain; but did not sail till the twenty-third. The land force consisted of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New York corps called the queen's rangers, and a regiment of light horse, estimated altogether at about 16,000. The fleet consisted of 267 sail. Gen. Washington, upon the fleet's sailing, marched his army toward Pennsylvania, and halted it at Corriel's ferry, Howell's ferry, and Trenton. He wrote from Corriel's ferry on the 30th.—“Howe's (in a manner) abandoning Burgoyne is so unaccountable a matter, that till I am fully assured it is so, I cannot help casting my eyes continually behind me.” He mentioned his halting the army, till the fleet should appear in the Delaware, and put the matter out of doubt; and that he had ordered gen. Sullivan's division to halt at Morristown, that it might march southward or northward, upon the first advice of the enemy's throwing any force up the North River.

General Washington's perplexity for some days cannot be so well conceived of, as by extracts from his own letters; read then and judge for yourself. “July 31. The enemy's fleet arrived at the Capes of Delaware yesterday, therefore order the two brigades thrown over the river to march immediately.” “Chester, August 1. I had proceeded thus far, to look out for a proper place to arrange the army, when I received the provoking account, that the enemy's fleet left the Capes yesterday, and

and steared eastward. I shall return with the utmost expedition to the North River: a sudden stroke is certainly intended by this manœuvre. Call in every man of the militia to strengthen the highland posts." "August 1. The enemy's fleet put to sea yesterday morning at eight o'clock, and were out of sight three hours when the express came away. It appears gen. Howe has been practising a deep feint to draw our whole force to this point. Counter-march your division, and proceed with all possible expedition to Peek's-kill." "August 3. The conduct of the enemy is difficult, and distressing to be understood." "August 11. On the seventh the enemy was off Sinepuxent inlet about sixteen leagues to the southward of the Capes of Delaware, on which I have halted for further intelligence." "August 22. The enemy's fleet have entered Chesapeak. There is not now the least danger of Howe's going to New England; forward this account to gov. Trumbull, to be by him sent on to the eastward."

Sir William Howe, while off the Capes, received that information, which led him to judge it most advisable to proceed to Chesapeak Bay, instead of going up the Delaware. Such information could not relate to the measures taken for rendering the navigation of the river impracticable. These measures were matters of so great notoriety, that he must have been strangely deficient in procuring intelligence, if he did not know them before he left the Hook. Beside, the obstructions in the river did not reach so low down as either Newcastle or Wilmington; as high as either of which places the fleet might have come with safety; and had he landed at the first of them, he would have been within 36 miles of

1777. of Philadelphia, 14 miles nearer than the Head of Elk. The information most probably related to gen. Washington's having marched the continental army within a certain distance of Philadelphia; and, perhaps, to a prospect of his being joined by a number of disaffected Americans in the states of Maryland and Delaware, upon his going up the Chesapeake and landing in Maryland. Be that as it may, through unfavorable winds he did not enter the Chesapeake till the 16th of August; and the difficulty of the navigation made it the 25th, before the army landed at Elk ferry. One part advanced to the Head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place to protect and forward the artillery, stores and necessary provisions. The day Sir William entered the Chesapeake, he received from lord George Germain, a letter of May the 18th, wherein was given him the first intimation, that any support whatever would be expected from him in favor of the northern expedition under gen. Burgoyne, in words to this purpose—"I trust that whatever you may meditate, it will be executed in time to co-operate with the army ordered to proceed from Canada." Gen. Washington upon advice of the British army's having landed, marched toward the Brandywine river, with his troops, amounting in the whole to 11,000 present and fit for duty, including 1800 of the Pennsylvania militia. Gen. Greene attended with gen. Weedon, was sent to reconnoitre and find out an eligible spot for their encampment. He pitched upon one at the Cross Roads, near six miles distant from the royal army, which he judged suitable, as the Americans would there have an open country behind them, from whence they could draw assistance, and would have opportunities

ties of skirmishing with the enemy before they were organized and provided with teams and horses, &c. for marching; and as Howe's troops would be a long while cramped before they could get what was wanting in order to their proceeding. He wrote to the commander in chief, acquainting him with the spot he had chosen. But the information was received too late; a council of war had determined the same day it was transmitted, to take a position upon Red-Clay Neck, about half way between Wilmington and Christiana, alias Christeen, with their left upon Christeen-neck, and their right extending toward Chad's Ford. When the reason for it, that it would prevent the enemy's passing on for Philadelphia, was assigned to gen. Greene, he maintained, that they would not think of Philadelphia, till they had beaten the American army; and upon his observing the position which had been taken, he condemned it as being greatly hazardous, and such as must be abandoned, should the enemy when organized advance toward them. The Americans however, spent much time and labor in strengthening the post.

Let us break off here to mention some of the congressional proceedings. In the beginning of June, they approved gen. Washington's conduct as to the cartel for exchange of prisoners, and his reasoning upon the subject. The general had acquainted Sir William Howe, that he did "not hold himself bound either by the spirit of the agreement, or by the principles of justice, to account for those prisoners, who, from the rigor and severity of their treatment, were in so emaciated and languishing a state at the time they came out, as to render their death almost certain and inevitable, and which,

in

1777. in many instances, happened while they were returning to their homes, and in many others after their arrival." He said to him, " You must be sensible that our engagement, as well as all others of the kind, though in letter it expresses only an equality of rank and number, as the rule of exchange, yet it necessarily implies a regard to the general principles of mutual compensation and advantage. This is inherent in its nature, is the voice of reason, and no stipulation, as to the condition in which prisoners should be returned, was requisite. Humanity dictated, that their treatment should be such as their health and comfort demanded. Nor is this the language of humanity alone—justice declares the same. The object of every cartel, or similar agreement, is the benefit of the prisoners themselves, and that of the contending powers—on this footing it equally exacts, that they should be well treated, as that they should be exchanged: the reverse is therefore an evident infraction, and ought to subject the party, on whom it is chargeable, to all the damages and ill consequences resulting from it *."

June Congress " resolved, That the flag of the Thirteen
 14. United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field,
 20. representing a new constellation." " Resolved, That a corps of invalids be formed, consisting of eight companies, each company to have one captain, two lieutenants, two ensigns, five sergeants, six corporals, two drummers, two fifiers and a hundred men. This corps to be employed in garrison and for guards in cities and other

* See the letters on this subject between Howe and Washington, and others, in the Remembrancer, vol. v. p. 214 to 220, and p. 230. places;

places, as also to serve as a military school for young gentlemen, previous to their being appointed to marching regiments." Lewis Nicola esq; was immediately after elected colonel of the said corps. 1777.

The inhabitants of the New Hampshire grants having set up an independent government, presented a petition to congress, praying that they might be considered as a free and independent state, and that delegates from them might be admitted to seats in congress. Their June petition was dismissed. But though it was dismissed, 30. the petitioners have not dissolved their government, but are resolutely determined to continue a free and independent state.

Congress resumed the consideration of certain letters July from generals Sullivan, Greene and Knox, all dated the 7. first of July; whereupon congress came to the following unanimous resolution: "That the president transmit to gen. Washington copies of the letters from generals Sullivan, Greene and Knox to congress, with directions to him to let those officers know, that congress consider the said letters as an attempt to influence their decisions, an invasion of the liberties of the people, and indicating a want of confidence in the justice of congress; that it is expected by congress, the said officers will make proper acknowledgments for an interference of so dangerous a tendency; but if any of those officers are unwilling to serve their country under the authority of congress, they shall be at liberty to resign their commissions and retire." Their letters are supposed to have related to the affair of Monsieur du Coudray and other French officers, which will be immediately mentioned; and to have contained an intimation, that placing any of these

1777. over their heads would be preventive of their serving their country longer. If they have made any acknowledgments to congress, the same have not been printed in the journals, or have hitherto escaped my search.

About the latter end of April, the Amphitrite arrived at Portsmouth from France, with military stores, intrenching tools, &c. By the same or a similar opportunity, Mons. du Coudray, and several more officers, came over with a view of serving in the American army, upon terms agreed between them and Mr. Deane. Mr. Deane contracted with du Coudray for half a hundred officers. Coudray was to be commander in chief of the artillery and engineers; to have the rank of major general; to precede some others by express stipulation, and all by the pre-eminence usual to artillery. He was to be under no order, but of congress and gen. Washington; to have the pay of a major general in a separate department; and to be pensioned for life. Congress was embarrassed. There was no establishing of such an agreement without offering an insult to their own American officers of the first rank, and obliging them (in honor) to quit the service, unless they would ever after be esteemed the spiritless tools of congress. On the 11th of July, a committee of the whole resolved, "That Mr. Silas Deane had not any powers or authority from congress to make the treaty with Mr. du Coudray, and the other French gentlemen therein mentioned, and therefore that congress are not by any means bound to fulfil the terms thereof." Mr. Deane's instruction was to engage engineers *not exceeding* four. The next day it was resolved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the said agreement is inconsistent with the interest,

terest, honor and safety of these United States." This ¹⁷⁷⁷ report being made, was smothered out of tenderness, and laid on the table, that a trial might be made to quiet the military ambition of du Coudray. They therefore on the 15th "resolved, That a committee of three be ^{July} appointed to confer with Monf. du Coudray; that they ¹⁵ inform him, congress cannot comply with the agreement he has entered into with Mr. Deane; but sensible of the services he has rendered these states, and having a favorable opinion of his merits and abilities, they will cheerfully give him such rank and appointments as shall *not* be inconsistent with the honor and safety of these states, or interfere with the great duties they owe to their constituents." They afterward ordered money to be advanced to him, for the support of himself and the gentlemen who came with him from France; and on the 11th of August appointed him inspector general of ordnance and military manufactories, with the rank of major general.

"Whereas the marquis de la Fayette, out of his great ³¹ zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connections, and at his own expence come over to offer his service to the United States without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risque his life in our cause:—Resolved, That his service be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connections, he have the rank and commission of major general in the army of the United States."

The proceedings of congress must be suspended, till some account has been given of this noble phenomenon.

1777. In 1776, the marquis, at the age of nineteen, espoused the cause of the Americans, and determined upon joining them in person. He communicated his intention to the American commissioners at Paris, who failed not to encourage it, justly concluding that the eclat of his departure would be serviceable to their cause. Events however immediately occurred, which would have deterred from his undertaking a person less determined than the marquis. News arrived in France, that the remnant of the American army, reduced to 2000 insurgents as they were called, had fled toward Philadelphia through the Jerseys, before an army of 30,000 regulars. This news so effectually extinguished the little credit which America had in Europe, that their commissioners could not procure a vessel to forward this nobleman's project. Under these circumstances they thought it but honest to discourage his prosecuting the enterprise, till a change in affairs should render it less hazardous or more promising. It was in vain however that they acted so candid a part. The flame, which the American sons of liberty had kindled in his breast, could not be interrupted by their misfortunes. "Hitherto," said he, in the true spirit of heroism, "I have only cherished your cause; now I am going to serve it. The lower it is in the opinion of the people, the greater effect my departure will have; and since you cannot get a vessel, I shall purchase and fit out one, to carry your dispatches to congress, and me to America." He accordingly fitted out a vessel, and in the mean while made a visit to Great Britain, that the part he was going to act might be rendered the more conspicuous.

A step

A step so extraordinary, a patron of so much importance, did not fail to engage universal attention. The French court, whatever were their good wishes toward America, could not at that time overlook his elopement. He was overtaken by an order forbidding his proceeding to America, and vessels were dispatched to the West Indies to have him confined in case he was found in that quarter. He acknowledged the receipt of the order, but did not obey it; and keeping clear of the West Indies, arrived in Charlestown. Congress could not hesitate a moment about paying a due attention to so remarkable a character, when intelligence of the same was communicated. The marquis had left a pregnant consort, and the most endearing connections. Independent of the risks he has now subjected himself to, in common with the leaders of the American revolution, he has exposed himself to the loss of every thing at home in consequence of the laws of France, after hazarding a long confinement without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation, had he fallen into British hands on his passage to America.

He received the congress's mark of approbation with great condescension; and yet not without exacting two conditions, which displayed the dignity of his spirit—the one that he should be permitted to serve at his own expence—the other that he should begin his services as a volunteer. After joining the army, he lived with the commander in chief, and was happy in his friendship and affection.

Now to resume the narration of what was done in the great council of the United States.

1777. Congress directed gen. Washington to order such general officer as he should think proper to repair immediately to the northern department, to relieve general Schuyler in his command there; but upon his wishing to be excused, they resolved to proceed to the election of one, when the ballots being taken, it appeared that
 Aug. 4. gen. Gates was elected by the vote of eleven states.

Congress having made new regulations in the department of the commissary general of purchases, Mr. Joseph Trumbull resigned his commission, and signified his intention of discontinuing his service on the 20th of the month. They upon that "resolved, That Mr. Trumbull, with the officers under him, be desired to continue in the business of supplying the army under the former establishment, until the commissaries general of purchases and issues shall signify their readiness to proceed therein under the new regulations."

To what influence Mr. Trumbull imputed the regulations that occasioned his resignation, and what was his opinion as to the manner of conducting business in congress, may be gathered from a letter of his, wherein he wrote on the first of September—"I have quitted the commissary department. The regulations, which are the ground on which I have quitted, were formed by the junto. Is it known in your state [the Massachusetts] that the president is with the Yorkers and southern Balhaws: that if he wants any thing moved, his brother delegates are not applied to, but the motion comes from Duane, or some other person of no better character; and that there is no harmony between him and his brethren?"

"Re-

“ Resolved, That the president inform gen. Wash-^{1777.} 23.
ington, that congress never intended by any commission
hitherto granted by them, or by the establishment of
any department whatever, to supersede or circumscribe
the power of gen. Washington as the commander in
chief of all the continental land forces within the United
States.”

The British troops stationed on Staten's Island were often making incursions into the Jerseys, and carrying off inhabitants, cattle, &c. This induced gen. Sullivan to settle a plan with col. Ogden for attacking the island. The latter had, properly speaking, a separate command, but agreed to join the general in the expedition. The general was to go from Elizabeth town point; and the colonel with his own and col. Dayton's regiment, joined by a hundred militia, were to cross from another spot, to pass up Fresh-kill creek, and to come in the rear of col. Lawrence, who was encamped near the ferry with about 150 men, whom he was to attack by day break. The general selected from the brigades of gens. Smallwood and De Borre, such men as were best able to endure the march, amounting to near 1000. These he ordered to march at two o'clock in the afternoon from Hanover to Elizabeth-town, about 16 miles, where they arrived in the evening; on the 22d of August they crossed over before day light. The colonel proceeded to execute the part of the plan allotted him. It had been settled, that the general should send two regiments to the neck of land separating the quarter where the colonel was to begin his attack from the rest of the island, by their possessing of which the retreat of the enemy would be cut off, and a surrender necessarily follow.

1777. When the colonel had succeeded in the commencement of his operations, and saw numbers flying to the neck, he expected they would have been stopt there; but was surpris'd at observing the contrary, and that the occupancy of the ground had not taken place. Unhappily, the general upon landing, instead of keeping to the plan propos'd, march'd seven miles toward the forts, which occasioned a loss of time, and increased the fatigue of the troops, many of whom had march'd near upon twenty miles to the place where they cross'd. Their fatigue occasioned several's dropping behind, and being pickt up by the enemy. The colonel having captured 130 privates and some officers, and having taken a king's shallop, put them on board and sent them off to Elizabeth-town. The person who had the care of them, being but an indifferent hand, though the best that could be spar'd, was not sufficiently attentive to circumstances, so that the boats which were to have attended gen. Sullivan's motions, and which had transported his division, row'd off, the boatmen concluding from the regimentals of the prisoners upon deck, and other appearances, that the king's shallop was in pursuit of them. The troops of that division destroy'd some stores; burnt a magazine of hay and seven vessels; and did other damage: but the grand design of the expedition fail'd by the general's varying from the plan concerted between him and the colonel. When the general was advancing toward the ground occupi'd by the latter, no horsemen were sent forward to reconnoitre, or to inform the colonel of the general's approach, so that Ogden was at a loss for some time whether it was a friend or an enemy that was marching up to him. When the general join'd him,

though

though the boats which were to have attended Sullivan ^{1777.} were wanting, and the deficiency in number of those present made dispatch in transporting the troops absolutely necessary, the general used no expedition in getting them over; but loitered away the precious time that should have been improved to the utmost, so that the misfortune of the day was increased. The rear guard consisting of 100 men, could not get off before the enemy appeared in force to attack them. They were commanded by majors Steward and Tillard, and took post on an eminence, where they defended themselves bravely for a while, and then retreated to another eminence, and so to a third. They maintained their ground with great valor, till their ammunition was all spent, when a number of them, who could not possibly get off, surrendered prisoners of war. The Americans lost in the course of the day in killed, wounded and prisoners, toward 200. The killed, wounded and prisoners on the other side, might be nearly the same. Gen. Sullivan captured eight and twenty tories, and a colonel or capt. Barton, who was too unwieldy to run off with his comrades. He joined to them the other prisoners, and sent the whole to Philadelphia in triumph. While upon the expedition, the general gained possession of some records and papers belonging to the quakers, which with a letter were forwarded to congress, and referred to a committee. On the 28th of August, “ The committee reported— ^{Aug. 28.} That the several testimonies which have been published since the commencement of the present contest betwixt Great Britain and America, and the uniform tenor of the conduct and conversation of a number of persons of considerable wealth who profess themselves to belong to the

1777. the society of people commonly called quakers, render it certain and notorious that those persons are with much rancor and bitterness disaffected to the American cause: that as these persons will have it in their power, so there is no doubt it will be their inclination, to communicate intelligence to the enemy, and in various other ways to injure the counsels and arms of America:—That when the enemy in the month of December 1776, were bending their progress toward the city of Philadelphia, a certain seditious publication, addressed " To our friends and brethren in religious profession in these and the adjacent provinces," signed " John Pemberton, in and on behalf of the meeting of sufferings held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the twenty-sixth of the twelfth month 1776," was published, and as your committee is credibly informed, circulated amongst many members of the society called Quakers, throughout the different states:—That as the seditious paper aforesaid originated in the city of Philadelphia, and as the persons whose names are undermentioned have uniformly manifested a disposition highly inimical to the cause of America, therefore—Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the supreme executive council of the state of Pennsylvania forthwith to apprehend and secure the persons of Joshua Fisher, Abel James, James Pemberton, Henry Drinker, Israel Pemberton, John Pemberton, John James, Samuel Pleasants, Thomas Wharton, sen. Thomas Fisher son of Joshua, and Samuel Fisher son of Joshua, together with all such papers in their possession as may be of a political nature."

" And whereas there is strong reason to apprehend that these persons maintain a correspondence and connection

nection highly prejudicial to the public safety, not only '777- in this state, but in the several states of America:—Resolved, That it be recommended to the executive powers of the respective states forthwith to apprehend and secure all persons, as well among the people called quakers as others, who have in their general conduct and conversation evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America; and that the persons so seized be confined in such places, and treated in such manner, as shall be consistent with their respective characters and security of their persons:—That the records and papers of the meetings of sufferings in the respective states be forthwith secured and carefully examined, and that such parts of them as may be of a political nature be forthwith transmitted to congress.—The said report being read, and the several paragraphs considered and debated, and the question put severally thereon, the same was agreed to.”—“Ordered, That the board of war remove under guard to a place of security out of the state of Pennsylvania, the honorable John Penn esq; and Benjamin Chew esq; and that they give orders for having them safely secured, and entertained agreeable to their rank and station in life.”

A number of quakers, beside those mentioned, together with several persons of a different denomination, were taken up by the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, concerning whom congress resolved, on the 8th of September, “That it be recommended to the said council to order the immediate departure of such of the said prisoners as refuse to swear or affirm allegiance to the state of Pennsylvania, to Stanton in (Augusta county) Virginia.”

Sept.
8.

1777. Eight days before, on the last of August, a member of congress writing upon public affairs thus expressed himself, "The frauds, the peculations, the profusion, which have done us more injury than the whole force of our foreign enemies, have been chiefly owing to the want of government, and the want of discipline. Howe has planned his operations in such a manner as to give us a vast advantage both of him and Burgoyne."

Reports prejudicial to gen. Sullivan were circulated, upon which congress resolved, on the first of the month, "That gen. Washington be directed to appoint a court of inquiry on the late expedition by gen. Sullivan against the British forces on Staten Island." The statement of the particulars inquired into was so formed, that he obtained an honorable acquittal, such as was highly pleasing to congress: but had major Joseph Bloomfield been enough recovered of his wound to have attended the court, he would scarce have escaped so well.

Let us resume the transactions of Sir William Howe and gen. Washington. Sir William was so distressed for want of horses (numbers having died on their passage) and of other necessaries to aid his march, that it was not till the 3d of September that the royal army moved forward. On its advancing near to the Americans, these abandoned their ground, perceiving that it would not answer their first expectation; crossed the Brandywine at Chad's ford; and took possession of the heights on the east side of it, with an evident intention of disputing the passage of the river. Upon an apprehension that the royal forces would attempt crossing at Chad's ford, gen. Washington posted his main strength at that point; and gen. Maxwell, with about 1000 light troops, was sent
over

over to possess himself of the opposite height; and in 1777.
the night of the 10th, they formed a slight breast work
with the limbs of trees.

By day break the next morning, the British army ad- Sept.
vances in two columns: the right under the command 11.
of gen. Knyphausen, which marches directly for Chad's
ford. A party is moved on to dislodge Maxwell, which
he repulses; they are reinforced, and come on a second
time without succeeding. On this a strong detachment
is sent round a piece of woods to come upon his flank,
while the other attack him anew in front. Perceiving
this movement, he retreats across the river with a trifling
loss. Gen. Knyphausen keeps up a cannonade, and an
appearance of forcing the ford, till he shall hear that
the left column has attacked the Americans, and then
he means to attempt it. This second column, under the
command of Lord Cornwallis, gens. Grey, Matthew
and Agnew, marches for the forks of the Brandywine.
The movement is early observed. Gen. Sullivan writes
to the commander in chief, that it is clearly his opinion,
that the enemy will come round on their right flank.
He sends him two messages in the forenoon confirming
the same. Lieut. col. James Ross forwards, at eleven
o'clock from Great Valley road, this intelligence—"A
large body of the enemy, from every account 5000,
with sixteen or eighteen field pieces, marched along this
road just now. Their front must be now at the ford;
we are close in their rear with about seventy men. I
believe gen. Howe is with this party, as Joseph Gal-
loway was here known by the inhabitants, with many of
whom he spoke, and told them that gen. Howe was with
him." Other accounts corroborating the movement of
the

1777. the second column toward the forks, gen. Washington settles it with gen. Greene, that he shall cross with his division at the lower ford, and attack gen. Knyphausen. He at the same time sends word to Sullivan to cross the Brandywine with his, and fall upon the enemy's left; while the army crosses below to attack their right. The commander in chief hopes, by defeating Knyphausen, to secure those advantages, which will outweigh any that gen. Howe may gain by forcing the troops, opposed to his left column, to retreat. Sullivan is preparing to execute Washington's order, when major Spears comes up and tells him, that there is not the least appearance of the enemy in that quarter; which is confirmed by a sergeant Tucker of the light horse, sent out purposely to make discoveries. Sullivan conceives it to be his duty to convey Spears's information to the commander in chief. This unfortunate intelligence deranges the disposition that has been determined on, in consequence of prior information; so that gen. Greene, who has crossed with his advanced guard, is recalled. Mean while the second or left column of the British army cross the forks of the Brandywine, the first branch at Trimble's ford, and the second at Jeffery's ford, about two o'clock in the afternoon, taking from thence the road to Dilworth, in order to turn the right of the American's, consisting of three divisions, Sullivan's, Lord Stirling's and another officer's. The British form and advance in order of battle. Sullivan, upon information of what has taken place, marches to reinforce the two other divisions nearest the British. He takes rather too large a circuit, and is so late upon the ground as to exclude all possibility of making a perfect disposition. Before he has time to

ride

ride from one end of the line to the other, he is suddenly attacked by numbers unknown to him, and upon ground that he never saw before; so that his troops are thrown into confusion, and retreat with the utmost precipitation. This happens between four and five in the afternoon. Gens. Washington and Greene being together, and hearing the firing, conclude that Sullivan is attacked. Greene immediately hastens his first brigade, commanded by gen. Weedon, toward the scene of action with such uncommon expedition, that in forty and two minutes it advances near four miles. The second brigade is ordered by Washington to march a different route, as it cannot be up in time for service. General Knyphausen, finding that the parties on his left are deeply engaged, crosses at Chad's ford, attacks the division under gen. Wayne, and the light troops under Maxwell, obliges them to retire after a severe conflict, and possesses himself of the intrenchment, battery and cannon, which were meant for its defence. Greene, as he approaches the scene of action, perceives that Sullivan's defeat is a perfect route. A council of war is held upon the field, and it is agreed that Greene's brigade shall cover the retreat of the flying troops. Greene keeps firing his field pieces in the rear as he retreats, and continues retreating half a mile, till he comes to a narrow pass, well secured on the right and left by woods. Here he draws up his force, consisting of the Virginia troops, and a regiment of Pennsylvanians commanded by col. Stewart; and sends his artillery on, that it may be safe in case of his being under the necessity of making an hasty retreat. A warm engagement commences, which lasts from the sun's being three quarters of an hour high till

1777. till dark. The tenth Virginia regiment, commanded by col. Stevens, supports the attack of the British cannonade and musketry for fifteen minutes, though they have never before been engaged. The whole brigade exhibits such a degree of order, firmness and resolution, and preserves such a countenance in extremely sharp service, as would not discredit veterans. Wayne and the North Carolinians, with the artillery and light troops, after their defeat by Knyphausen, pass the rear of it in their retreat. At dark, that also is withdrawn by gen. Greene: the extreme fatigue of the royal troops, together with the lateness and darkness of the evening, prevents its being pursued.

A few hours more of day light might have so animated the conquerors, notwithstanding all their fatigue, as to have produced those exertions which would have been productive of a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans. Gen. Greene is apprehensive that these lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, twelve or thirteen hundred; and that the royal army did not suffer, on their part, short of seven or eight hundred, in killed and wounded. The Americans lost also ten small field pieces, and a howitzer, of which all but one were brass.

A great number of French officers were in the action. The baron de St. Ouary serving as a volunteer was taken. The congress will undoubtedly do all they can to obtain his release. Policy will oblige them to it, no less than a regard to his rank and merit in the French army. The marquis de la Fayette gave the first proof of his military character in this engagement, and was wounded in the leg on the spot where the effort of the enemy was greatest. The wound however did not force him from
the

the field, where he continued his endeavours to rally the 1777.
Americans as well by his words as example. Count
Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, with a party of light horse,
rode up to reconnoitre the enemy, within pistol shot of
their front; and on the fourth day after the action, was
elected by congress a commander of the horse, with the
rank of brigadier. Capt. Louis de Fleury's horse was
killed under him. He showed much courage, and was
so useful in rallying the troops, that congress, within
two days, ordered him to be presented with another
horse, as a testimonial of the sense they had of his merit.
Considering that gen. Washington had to fight the British
army with an inferior number of raw troops, and how
the attack upon him was circumstanced, through the
false intelligence he received, he may be thought to have
suffered less than could have been expected. He dis-
covered a true magnanimity of mind, in that (though
he attributed the misfortunes of the day principally to
the information of major Spears) he never blamed gen.
Sullivan for conveying it, but declared that he should
have thought him culpable had it been concealed. He
retreated after the action to Chester, and the next day
to Philadelphia.

The evening after the battle, a party of British was
sent to Wilmington, who took the governor of the De-
laware state, Mr. M'Kenley out of his bed, and possessed
themselves of a shallop lying in the creek, loaded with
the rich effects of some of the inhabitants, together
with the public records of the county, a large quantity
of public and private money, all the papers and certi-
ficates belonging to the loan office and treasury office
there, articles of plate, &c.

1777. General Greene has been rather dissatisfied with gen. Washington's omitting to take special notice of Weedon's brigade, in general orders, for its bravery. But the commander in chief, considering that there was a prevailing apprehension that Greene was his favorite, and that the Virginians were his own state troops, declined it, that so he might not excite a disagreeable jealousy, and give offence to the troops of other states.

Sept.
15.

A letter from Mons. du Coudray to Mr. Chase was laid before congress and read, "wherein he requests for himself and sundry gentlemen, who accompanied him to this country from France, to have an opportunity of fighting in the American army without running the risk of not being subjects of exchange, should they by the fortune of war be made prisoners; mentions that any rank which congress may think proper to give him and them will be acceptable; and asks for himself only the rank of captain, for the commissioned officers who accompanied him, the rank of lieutenants, and for the non-commissioned the rank of ensigns: whereupon it was resolved, that his request be complied with, and that commissions be made out accordingly."

The same day gen. Washington left Philadelphia, and recrossed the Schuylkill, with a firm intent of giving Sir William Howe battle, wherever he could meet him: he accordingly by the next day had advanced as far as the Warren tavern on the Lancaster road. Mons. du Coudray, with a number of French gentlemen, set off to join the army, as volunteers, about twelve o'clock. He rode a young mare, full of spirits, into the flat-bottomed boat, used for ferrying across the Schuylkill, and not being able to stop her career, she went out at

the other end into the river, with her rider on her back. 1777
Coudray disengaged himself from her, but was drowned,
notwithstanding all the attempts made to save him.

General Howe, while marching the army in two columns toward Goshen, heard that the Americans were within five miles of it, and immediately determined to push forward and attack them. Intelligence was brought 174
to gen. Washington of his approach. Gen. Sullivan was directed to draw up the American troops in order of battle. Gen. Greene observed, that at a little distance in their rear was a large piece of water, extending their whole length, and which in case of a defeat would prevent their retreating. He rode to gen. Washington, acquainted him with what he had noticed, and asked whether he meant that the troops should fight in that situation. He was desired to arrange them differently. Mean time gen. Wayne with the advance, was engaged with the enemy a considerable distance off. While Greene was removing the army to a new position, it began to rain. Soon after it poured like one incessant thunder shower. It continued raining till the next day. Thus both parties were rendered equally and totally incapable of action. The Americans have reason to be thankful for this providential interposition, as it is highly probable that an engagement with troops flushed with the preceding victory, better disciplined, and more experienced, would have terminated greatly to their disadvantage. On examining their arms on the 18th, they were found to be much impaired. Beside, all the ammunition in the cartouch boxes was entirely ruined. Gen. Washington therefore withdrew the army to a place of security, and filed off toward Reading.

1777. General Greene, in company with col. Tilghman, one of Washington's aids, reconnoitred for a position, and fixed upon the range of mountains from Valley Forge toward the Yellow Springs. He considered the ground as strong, difficult of access, and yet allowing of an easy descent; and as favorable for partial actions without admitting of any very decisive. Gen. Wayne being in the rear of Sir William Howe, Greene concluded that the position would bring all the American force partly upon Sir William's flank and rear, and within striking distance of him, if he attempted crossing the Schuylkill, and would oblige him to fight the Americans on their own terms. He thought also, that the position would afford them the probability of beating him; or at least of so crippling him, as that he would not venture to possess himself of Philadelphia; and that in case of their being beaten, it would afford them a safe retreat. He transmitted his sentiments to the commander in chief by letter, but not before hearing from him, that it had been determined in council, to cross the Schuylkill above French-creek, and take a position in front of gen. Howe.

Sept. 19. On the nineteenth gen. Washington wrote to Wayne —“ By the advice of the general officers, I have determined, that the army, under my immediate command, cross the Schuylkill at Parker's ford, and endeavour to get down in time to oppose the enemy in front, whilst the corps under your command, in conjunction with gen. Smallwood and col. Gist, act to the greatest advantage in the rear.”

General Howe, upon intelligence that Wayne was lying in the woods with a corps of 1500 men, and four
pieces

pieces of cannon, in the rear of the left wing of his 1777.
 army, detached gen. Grey on the 20th, late at night,
 with two regiments and a body of light infantry to sur-
 prise him. Grey gained Wayne's left about one o'clock 21.
 in the morning. Some out-sentries were early missed
 by an American officer going his rounds, and an alarm
 was given in time for the men to turn out; but unhap-
 pily for them, Wayne paraded them in the light of their
 fires, instead of withdrawing them to the back of their
 encampment. Thus the British were directed where to
 rush with their bayonets, as ordered by their comman-
 der, without firing a gun. They did great execution,
 killing and wounding near 300 on the spot. They took
 between 70 and 80 prisoners, including several officers,
 a great many arms, and eight waggons loaded with
 baggage and stores; and had only one captain of light
 infantry and three privates killed, and four men wound-
 ed. The darkness of the night, and some prudent dis-
 positions of Wayne's, prevented their further success.

In the afternoon of the 22d, Sir William Howe hav- 22.
 ing by various manœuvres drawn gen. Washington 30
 miles from Philadelphia, instead of attacking him upon
 the right, agreeable to the idea he had seemingly af-
 fected to impress, ordered the grenadiers and light in-
 fantry of the guards to cross the Schuylkill at Fat Land-
 ford and to take post, and the Chasseurs to do the same
 at Gordon's-ford, both below the left of the Americans.
 At midnight the army moved, and crossed the river at
 Fat Land-ford without opposition; the rear-guard with
 the baggage passed it before two in the afternoon, and
 the whole were encamped by night of the twenty-third. 23.
 This event was not expected by the American comman-

1777. der. Advice was received in the night of the enemy's having crossed the river at Gordon's-ford, which was afterward contradicted. This last information was credited, so that when the gentlemen at head quarters were assured the next morning that Howe's army had crossed the Schuylkill, and was marching toward Philadelphia, every one was astonished.

The congress had before hurried away in the night of the 18th. After the adjournment of that day the president received a letter from col. Hamilton, one of gen. Washington's aids, intimating the necessity of their removing immediately from Philadelphia; whereupon they left the city, and agreeable to a resolve of the 14th repaired to Lancaster. The letter, the immediate hurry, and the alarm of the enemy's being at Sweed's-ford, threw the city into the utmost confusion; and at the same time roused all who wished to quit it, into a preparation for a speedy removal.

Sept. 26. On the 26th, Sir William Howe made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, with a very small part of his army, where he was most cordially received by the generality of the quakers, and a few other royalists: the bulk of his troops were left in and about German-town, a village forming one continued street for near two miles. Gen. Washington's army was encamped near Shippach-creek, about 18 miles from thence.

30. The congress removed to York-town by the end of the month. Before they had quitted Philadelphia, they had elected baron de Kalb major general; and had entered upon their journals—"Whereas Monf. du Coudray, colonel brigadier in the service of his most christian majesty the king of France, and commander in chief

of the artillery in the French colonies of America, gallantly offered to join the American army as a volunteer, but in his way thither was most unfortunately drowned in attempting to cross the Schuylkill:—Resolved, That the corpse of the said Mons. du Coudray be interred at the expence of the United States, and with the honors of war.” They also resolved, “That gen. Washington be authorized and directed to suspend all officers who shall misbehave, and to fill up all vacancies in the American army under the rank of brigadiers, until the pleasure of congress be communicated; to take, wherever he may be, all such provisions and other articles as may be necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army under his command, paying or giving certificates for the same; to remove and secure, for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects which may be serviceable to the enemy; provided that the powers hereby vested shall be exercised only in such parts of these states as may be within the circumference of seventy miles of the head quarters of the American army, and shall continue in force for the space of sixty days, unless sooner revoked by congress.”

Lord Howe, after the affair of Brandywine, took the most speedy measures for conducting the fleet and transports round to the Delaware: which when arrived were anchored along the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle, the passage near Philadelphia being yet impracticable. When the British troops had taken possession of the city, their first object was the erecting of batteries to command the river. The day after, the American frigate the Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and being

1777. seconded by another frigate, with smaller vessels, they commenced a heavy cannonade, both upon the batteries and town. Through inattention the Delaware was suffered to ground upon the falling of the tide, and could not be got off, (say the British) which being perceived by the grenadiers, they brought their battalion field pieces to play upon her with such effect, that she soon struck her colours: but the Americans say, the crew rose, confined the captain, and purposely ran the ship ashore. The whole fire of the battalion guns was afterward directed against the other vessels, which were compelled to retire with the loss of a schooner driven ashore.

The Pennsylvanians had, at a vast labor and expence, constructed great and numerous works, to obstruct the passage up to Philadelphia, some of which have been already mentioned. They had erected works and batteries on Mud Island, and called the whole Fort Mifflin, in honor to gen. Mifflin. On the opposite shore, at a place called Red-bank, they had formed a fort or redoubt, covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel, under the cover of these batteries, they had sunk several ranges of chevaux de Frize, before described—p. 93. It was equally difficult to weigh or cut through them; but no attempt could be made for raising them, or for opening the main channel, till the command of the shores was obtained. About three miles lower down they had sunk other ranges of these machines, and were constructing works for their protection, at a place on the Jersey side called Billing's-point. These works and machines were further supported by several gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with

two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels, small 1777.
craft of various kinds, and some fire-ships.

Upon the representation of capt. Hammond of the Roebuck (lying off Chester, 15 miles below Philadelphia) who had arrived before lord Howe, the general detached two regiments, under col. Stirling, to dislodge the enemy from Billing's-point. The detachment having Oct. crossed, the enemy heard of their approach, immediately spiked their artillery, set fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with precipitation. This success enabled capt. Hammond to cut away and weigh up so much of the chevaux de Frize, notwithstanding the great opposition he met with, as opened a narrow passage for large ships through the lower barrier.

General Washington, having been reinforced by 1500 men from Peek's-kill, and 1000 from Virginia, and having received intelligence through two intercepted letters, that gen. Howe had detached a part of his force for the purpose of reducing Billing's-point works and the forts on the Delaware, entertained the thought of attacking the main body as it lay at German-town. The line of encampment crossed the town at right angles about the centre: the left wing extended to the Schuylkill. It was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted chasseurs: a battalion of light infantry, and the queen's American rangers were in the front of the right: and the 40th regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were posted at the head of the town, upon Chesnut-hill road, three quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia with four battalions of grenadiers. When gen. Washington had communicated to his council of war the account he had obtained,

1777. tained, the general officers unanimously agreed upon an attack, and to its being made in different places, to produce the greater confusion and distraction, and to hinder the several parts of the enemy's forces affording support to each other. It was to be sudden and vigorous, in expectation of carrying the point speedily, from an apprehension that the Americans would not persevere in a prolonged attack, for want of better discipline and more acquaintance with military service. Was it found that they could make no impression upon the enemy, they were after a while to make an expeditious retreat. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by way of Chesnut-hill; while Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia got upon the enemy's left and rear. Col. Thomas Conway, knight of St. Louis, had been elected so early as May, a brigadier general, upon the recommendatory letters he brought from France. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by M'Dougall's brigade, were to enter by taking a circuit, at the market houses, and to attack the right wing; and the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under gens. Smallwood and Freeman, were to march by the old York road, and fall upon the rear of the right. Lord Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, were to form a corps de reserve.

They begin their march about seven o'clock in the evening of October the third. Gen. Washington is with the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne. He expects, that if the enemy has gained timely intelligence of his march, they will wait for him on Chesnut-hill, and receive him as he comes out of the woods. When arrived on the hill, without any appearance of opposition, he is
con-

congratulated upon the persuasion that the British will be completely surpris'd. About sun rise on the fourth the attack is begun on the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry which accompanies it. These corps are overpowered and pursued. In this exigence lieut. col. Musgrave throws himself with six companies of the 40th regiment, into Mr. Chew's stone house, lying full in the front of the Americans. These halt. A discourse ensues between gens. Knox and Reed in the presence of the commander in chief, whether or no to advance without first reducing the house. Knox urges, that it is contrary to all military rule to leave a fort possessed by an enemy in their rear. Reed exclaims—"What! call this a fort, and lose the happy moment!" Conway is inquired after to give his judgment, but cannot be found. It is agreed to send a flag to the house, and summons the British officer to surrender. A young person undertakes to carry it. He approaches, is fired upon, and killed. Mean while gen. Greene gets up with his column, and attacks the right wing of the enemy. The morning being exceeding foggy, prevents the Americans from fully improving the advantages they gain. Col. Matthews, of Greene's column, attacks with uncommon spirit, routs the parties opposed to him, kills a great number, and makes 110 prisoners; but, through the fog, loses sight of the brigade he belongs to, is separated from it, and is taken prisoner with his whole regiment, accompanied with the release of all whom he had captured. A number of Greene's troops are stopped, by the halt of the divisions before Chew's house, where near or quite one half of gen. Washington's army remains some time inactive. During this inactivity,

1777. activity, gen. Grey, bringing the front of a great part of the left wing by a timely movement to Germantown, leads on three battalions of the third brigade and attacks with vigor, being supported by gen. Agnew at the head of the fourth brigade. A warm engagement ensues. At the same time two British regiments attack on the opposite side of the town; while gen. Grant moves up the 49th regiment, to the aid of the fourth, which is employed in supporting the troops engaged with Greene's column. The fog is so great, that at times you cannot see twenty yards before you, and frequently not more than fifty. It occasions the American parties mistaking each other for the enemy, and prevents their observing the true situation of the latter. Owing hereto in a great measure, the Americans quit every part of the town; and when gen. Grey, having passed it, advances with the British right wing upon their left, they leave the field hastily and entirely, in spite of every effort that can be made to rally them. Lord Cornwallis arrives with a squadron of light horse just in season to join in the pursuit. Greene with his own and Stephen's division, happens to form the last column of the retreating Americans. Upon coming to two roads, and thinking it will be safest, and may prevent the enemy's advancing by either so as to get a head of him; and that the divisions may aid each other upon occasion, he marches one division on the one road, and the second on the other. While continuing his retreat, Pulaski's cavalry who are in his rear, being fired upon by the enemy, ride over the second division, and throw them into the utmost disorder, as they know not at first but that they are the British dragoons. The men run and scatter,

Nr. Nr.



ter, and the general is apprehensive that he shall lose his 1777. artillery. He cannot collect a party sufficient to form a rear guard, till he hits upon the device of ordering the men to lay hold of each other's hands. This answers. He collects a number, and by the help of the artillery brings the enemy to give over the pursuit, after having continued it near five miles. The Americans then proceed in their march back to Shippach-creek without further disturbance.

The British officers acknowledged soon after this affair, that it was the severest blow they had met with; that it was planned with judgment, and executed with spirit; and that they were at a loss for it's not being followed up, unless it was for want of ammunition. The Americans lost in killed 25 continental officers commissioned and non-commissioned—wounded 102, and an equal number missing. The militia officers were, 3 killed—4 wounded, and 11 missing. Of rank and file, continentals, 109 were killed, and 378 wounded—militia, 7 killed and 19 wounded. They had artillery officers, 2 killed and 11 wounded; and matrosses, 6 killed and 7 wounded. The total of their killed was 152; and of their wounded 521*. Upward of 400 were made prisoners, among whom were 54 officers. The number of missing among the Americans is no rule by which to judge of the number captured by the enemy, as many of the missing, who do not return to their colours, go home. Gen. Nash of North Carolina was among the slain, and will be honored by congress with a monument, the same as other generals who have fallen

* The board of war,

1777. in action bravely contending for the independency of the United States.

The loss of the royal army, including the wounded and a few prisoners, amounted by their own acknowledgment, to 535: but the slain scarcely exceeded 70. Among these however were some distinguished officers, particularly gen. Agnew, and lieut. col. Bird. They suffered probably more than they allowed *. The battle, by gen. Knox's watch, held two hours and forty minutes.

General Washington is of opinion, that the Americans retreated at an instant when victory was declaring in their favor. The royal army was indeed completely surpris'd; and appearances in the beginning were evidently on the side of the former. But it is said, that a certain colonel, not being sufficiently experienced, instead of pressing with fixed bayonet on the enemy whom he had driven, kept ordering his men, as they advanced, to load and fire, by which they expended their ammunition: and that, instead of halting on the ground till furnished afresh, he ordered his regiment to retreat. This retrograde manœuvre enabled and encouraged the enemy to recover themselves, while the other Americans, who were advancing, were disheartened and disconcerted by the retreating regiment, not knowing the occasion of such retreat. It is admitted however, that the colonel behaved boldly, by keeping himself in the rear next to the enemy.

* When the royal army quitted German-town, the Americans found in one of the chimney hearths, some papers torn to pieces, and observing figures upon them, certain officers attempted putting them together, and found them to be the returns of the killed and wounded at German-town battle, amounting to about eight hundred.

Gen. Stephen was guilty of un-officer-like behaviour in 1777 the retreat, owing to inattention or want of judgment; which might occasion a whisper to be circulated unfavorable to gen. Greene. But upon gen. Reed's asking the commander in chief whether he was dissatisfied with Greene's conduct, he candidly answered, "No, not at all; the fault lay with ourselves;" referring to the column with which he was, and their stopping to attack Chew's stone house. Several causes might co-operate to effect the precipitate retreat of the American army. And yet had that column advanced without delay, leaving only a sufficient corps with a couple of field pieces to guard the house, the obstacles to success that afterward offered, might have been removed or prevented, and Howe's army have been totally defeated, unless the superiority of their discipline and bravery could have hindered.

A general, who was in the action, wrote some time after to his correspondent—"At German-town, fortune smiled on our arms for hours. The enemy were broke, dispersed and flying on all quarters: we were in possession of their whole encampment, together with their artillery park, &c.—A *wind-mill* attack was made on a house into which six light companies had thrown themselves to avoid our bayonets—this gave time to the enemy to rally—our troops were deceived by this attack; taking it for something formidable, they fell back to assist in, what they deemed, a serious matter.—The enemy finding themselves no further pursued, and believing it to be a retreat, followed.—Confusion ensued, and we ran away from the arms of victory ready to receive us."

Let us turn our attention for a moment to South Carolina. The successes of the preceding year had humbled

1777. humbled the Cherokees most completely. The Carolinians had built, held and continued to occupy Fort Rutledge at Seneca quietly and unopposed. The Indians, finding themselves thus vanquished, sued in the most submissive terms for peace. A treaty between them and South Carolina took place, at which commissioners from Georgia attended, who concurred in and signed the articles of pacification on the 20th of May. By this treaty the Cherokees ceded a considerable part of their land to South Carolina. By the eighth and last article, it is agreed—"The hatchet shall be for ever buried, and there shall be an universal peace and friendship reestablished between South Carolina, including the Catawba and Georgia on the one part, and the Cherokee nation on the other; there shall be a general oblivion of injuries; the contracting parties shall use their utmost endeavours to maintain the peace and friendship now reestablished, and the Cherokees shall, at all times, apprehend and deliver to the commanding officer at Fort Rutledge, every person, white or red, who, in their nation or settlements, shall by any means endeavour to instigate a war by the Cherokee nation, or hostility, or robbery, by any of their people, against or upon any of the American states, or subjects thereof."

Before we resume the narrative of military operations, let me mention that the New York convention, authorized for that purpose the 20th of last April, have established the constitution of that state. When this was done, the freeholders chose for their governor, general George Clinton, a gentleman excellently well qualified to be at the head of the state, at so interesting and perplexed a period. His namesake, Sir Henry, made an incursion

incurſion into Jerſey, from the 12th to the 16th of Sep-^r 1777. tember, chiefly to collect cattle. He brought away 400 head, including 20 milch cows, 400 ſheep and a few horſes; in effecting it, he had 8 rank and file killed, 17 wounded, together with a lieutenant, 9 miſſing beſide a drummer, and 5 taken priſoners, by the different parties of Americans that oppoſed him. The expedition contributes nothing toward ſubduing the country. The loſs of the inhabitants will be the leſs felt, on account of the uncommonly good crops of Indian corn, with which they have been this year favored. It is ſurpriſing to find that country in ſo good order already. The harveſt has been truly plentiful. Leſt it ſhould be forgotten, let me mention that moſt of the damage which the college-building at Princeton ſuſtained, muſt be charged to the American troops; who deſtroyed alſo the leaden pipes of the organ (which had been ſpared by the royal army) in order to ſupply themſelves with a few bullets to fire at the enemy.

Now let us return to the northern department.

Lieut. col. St. Leger, whom gen. Burgoyne had early ſent off toward the Mohawk river, after combating all the difficulties, natural and artificial, which offered on his way, inveſted Fort Stanwix, now Fort Schuyler, on the third of Auguſt. It was in ſo poor a ſtate of de-^{Aug.} fence, that an immediate attempt to drive off the enemy^{3.} and relieve it, was abſolutely neceſſary. Gen. Herkimer, a leading perſon in Tryon county, marched with more than 800 militia on this ſervice. St. Leger had with him about 700 Indian warriors, who with their wives, children, other men and women, made up near 1400. He detached Sir John Johnſon, with ſome troops and

1777 the Indians, to lie in ambush in the woods, and intercept the militia. Herkimer fell into the snare, and was surprised; but several of the chief Indians fell by the first fire he gave them; soon after which the battle was a scene of confusion beyond any thing the Indians had ever seen. The white people, consisting of the militia and Sir John Johnson's tory troops, as his own corps is called, got together in parties of twenty or thirty, so that they could not fire; but pulled, and hauled, drew their knives and stabbed each other. The Indians, who consisted of Shawanese, Delawares, Senecas and others, after a while conjectured, from their own loss and the confusion which prevailed, that both Sir John's people and Herkimer's intended to destroy them: at length some of their chiefs told the young warriors, that it was a plot of the white people to draw them into a scrape and cut them off; and then ordered them to kill all white people whatever. It is thought, that near as many of Sir John's tory party were killed by the Indians as by the militia. A number of Herkimer's run off: about a hundred were so surrounded that they could not get away; but they possessed themselves of an advantageous post behind logs, &c. where they continued fighting the Indians with great bravery, till Sir John drew off his men, fearing that the garrison would fall out and fall upon him: near upon seventy of the hundred by this mean escaped. Two hundred and fifty men, under lieutenant Willet, sallied out about that time, and routed two of the Indian and tory encampments, destroying their provision, and carrying off kettles, blankets, muskets, tomahawks, spears, clothing, deer skins, a variety of Indian affairs, and five colours; which on their return

to the fort were displayed under the continental flag. 1777. The loss on the side of the militia was 160 killed, beside the wounded. Gen. Herkimer was among the slain: congress have resolved to honor him with a monument. Many of the principal leaders on the American side were either killed or wounded, so that all expectation of further attempts to relieve the fort by the assistance of militia was at an end. The Indians however were greatly disgusted. St. Leger had brought down with him a number who were neutral, to be spectators of the British conquering the Americans; and had engaged to them and the others, that he and his troops would clear the way for them to Albany. The victory gained had been purchased exceeding dear, according to their ideas; for they had more than seventy killed, and among them several of their most distinguished and favorite warriors. St. Leger left no mean untried to make the utmost of his victory. On the 8th he sent a flag to the fort, and endeavoured to intimidate the garrison, by magnifying his own strength; telling them, that Burgoyne, after destroying every thing in his way, was at Albany; and declaring, that the Indians were determined, if they met with further resistance, to destroy all the men, women and children on the Mohawk river, and as soon as they got into the fort, to kill every man belonging to it. Col. Gansevoort, the commandant, refused making any answer, or to listen to any proposals unless made in writing. The next day St. Leger tried the same scheme by letter, and received for answer, that the colonel being intrusted with the charge of the garrison by the United States of America, he would defend the fort at every hazard, and to the utmost extremity.

*777. It was shrewdly remarked by those who were within, that not half the pains would have been taken, to have displayed the force immediately without or the success at a distance, if they were any ways proportionable to the representation. The night before the letter was sent, col. Willet and lieut. Stockwell, a good woodsman (as they stile him, who can steer his wished-for course through the shady and pathless woods with a degree of certainty and readiness) undertook to attempt conveying intelligence down into the country, of the danger the fort was in, and of the necessity of relieving it. They left it at night, and crept upon their bellies for near half a mile ere they could reach the Mohawk river. After passing it, they had to cross the path from the Indian camp, on which the Indians were continually going forward and backward: for a long time they had the Indian yells founding in their ears on each side of them. They escaped every danger, and after travelling thirty miles, breakfasted the next morning upon blackberries, and pursued their journey about twenty miles further to German-flats. Gen. Schuyler, upon receiving the information at Stillwater, forwarded a continental brigade under gen. Learned; when to his great satisfaction, Arnold offered to go and conduct the military operations in Tryon county, for the relief of the fort. After Herkimer's battle, a nephew of his, Mr. Jost Cuyler, was taken and secured on suspicion of being a spy. A scheme was laid to make him serviceable to the business going forward. He was brought to Arnold, and it was settled, that if he would go and alarm the enemy, with representations of great numbers being on their march against them, so as to occasion their retreat, he should be liberated,

rated, and have his estate, which was very large, secured ¹⁷⁷⁷ to him. He undertook it, being well qualified from his acquaintance with the Indian language and manners, and his possessing a good share of subtilty. The mode of procedure was settled in concert with some friendly Indians: by the advice of one of their head men, Cuyler's coat was shot through in two or three places, that so the tale he had to relate might be the more readily believed. The necessity of aggravating the numbers marching to the relief of Fort Schuyler was apparent, for when gen. Arnold had got to German-flats, he was convinced from the intelligence procured of the enemy's strength, that it was much superior to his own; so that on the 21st he wrote to gen. Gates, who arrived at Stillwater and re-assumed the command of the northern department on the 19th, to send him a reinforcement of ^{Aug. 19.} 1000 light troops. Cuyler proceeded immediately to the Indian camp, informed their warriors that vast numbers were coming against them; that major Butler was taken (which was a truth) and that he narrowly escaped, for that the Americans fired at him, and several shot passed through his coat, though he got off unhurt. When the Indian camp was thoroughly alarmed, one of the American friendly Indians arrived, an hour or two after Cuyler, with a belt, waited upon the chiefs, and confirmed the intelligence, adding, that the Americans did not want to hurt one of them, all they desired was to fall upon the British. An Indian in camp, unknown to Arnold, was secretly prevailed upon to aid the project, by going off unobserved, taking a circuit, and then coming into that part of the camp, where were those Indians who were most inimical, with a similar story to

1777. that of Cuyler's. The Indians were completely frightened, and determined to go off. St. Leger in vain used every art to prevent it. He attempted making them drunk with rum, and then getting them to alter their resolution. Fond as they are of rum, they would not be taken in at this season of apprehended danger. He then would have prevailed with them to keep in the rear, while the other troops retreated. Neither would they do that; but told him—"You mean to sacrifice us. When we marched down, you told us there would be no fighting for us Indians: we might go down and smoke our pipes, whereas numbers of our warriors have been killed."—Nothing could change their determination. They went off, and St. Leger was obliged to de-
Aug. camp, about noon of the 22d, in such hurry and con-
22. fusion, as to leave his bombardier asleep in the bomb battery. His tents, with most of the artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the garrison. Some of the Indian Sachems, who were highly disgusted with him, concluded to play upon him, and divert themselves at his expence. In the evening, the flying troops came to a clay soil, pretty soft. St. Leger and Sir John Johnson were in an altercation, St. Leger reproaching Sir John about his Indians, and Sir John blaming St. Leger for not carrying on the siege differently. A couple of Indian chiefs, upon a rising hill at a small distance, with sight enough to observe their situation, and near enough to notice their wranglings, which proceeded almost to fighting, directed an Indian to withdraw some considerable way behind them, and then to run after them, crying out with all imaginable earnestness in the Indian language—*they are coming—they are coming*—and to con-
tinue

tinue it. St. Leger and Sir John, upon hearing the ¹⁷⁷⁷ dismal note, made off as fast as they could, but often tumbled into the dirt. The men threw away their packs, and pushed off in the greatest hurry. The Indians renewed the joke; and continued thus and in like ways to divert themselves, till the royalists arrived at the Oneida lake. The animosity between the two commanders rose at last to such height, that they drew upon each other, meaning to settle the contest by the point of the sword. The Indians being fully satisfied that they had carried the jest far enough, and not being in a blood-thirsty humor, approached the parties with much gravity and friendship, interposed their good offices, recommended peace, made them friends, and carried off the secret of their own management, wherewith to entertain themselves and favorites in future*. Considering the predominant disposition of the Indians, while retreating in consequence of the ill success that had attended St. Leger, and the loss they had sustained, it was not in the least surprising, that they plundered several of the boats belonging to the army, and took even from the baggage of the officers what they fancied.

When general Washington perceived from events in the north, that a proper officer must be chosen to command the eastern militia, he sent on gen. Lincoln, having learned that he had influence over them, and that they confided in him. He arrived at Manchester from the southward on the 2d of August, and found about 600 militia there, including 250 that arrived a few days

* They afterward diverted themselves and general Schuyler with this relation. Many of the foregoing particulars were communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, who was part of the time at Fort Schuyler, with some of those Indians that were friendly to the Americans.

1777. before from New Hampshire. Lincoln wrote to the Massachusetts council, that a body of troops in that part would not only cover the eastern states, but being in the rear of Burgoyne, oblige him to leave so considerable a part of his army at the different posts he possessed, as would weaken him. Schuyler, attending mainly to making head against Burgoyne's front, wrote to Lincoln, on the 4th, to march his whole force, except Warner's regiment, and join him with all possible dispatch. On the 6th, Lincoln had not been joined by any of the Massachusetts militia, saving a man or two; but was the same day reinforced by the arrival of brigadier-general Stark, with about 800 more men, from New Hampshire. That state had been applied to for a large body of militia. Stark, who was one of their brigadier generals, had considerable influence among them: but he was exceedingly soured, thought himself neglected, and that he had not had justice done him by the congress. He had fought courageously at the battle of Breed's hill; and had showed himself to be a soldier of sterling courage. He had also no particular liking for Schuyler. When therefore he was to be intrusted with the New Hampshire militia, he would not take the command, but upon the condition of being left at liberty to serve or not under a continental commander, as he pleased: and he determined not to join the continental army, till the congress gave him his rank in it. He had about 1400 brave men under him, well officered. Many of them had been in service the two preceding campaigns, and were not raw militia. Schuyler urged him repeatedly to join him; but he declined complying. He was induced so to do, not only from the forementioned reasons,

sons, but from considering that Burgoyne would not care what number of enemies he had in front, if he had none in his rear, and the country was open to his incursions. Stark resolved therefore to hang upon his rear, and neglected Schuyler's application. The matter was brought before congress, so that on the 19th they resolved, " That the council of New Hampshire be informed, that the instructions which gen. Stark says he has received from them are destructive of military subordination, and highly prejudicial to the common cause at this crisis : and that therefore they be desired to instruct gen. Stark to conform himself to the same rules which other general officers of the militia are subject to, whenever they are called out at the expence of the United States." But before this resolve, Stark had assured Schuyler, that he would do every thing to promote the public good, but was not for doing any thing that might prove inconsistent with his own honor : however, if it was thought best that he should march immediately to the camp, he would acquiesce. On the 13th he wrote, that he should throw away all private resentment, when put in balance with the good of his country. Gen. Washington did not approve of Schuyler's apparent intention of uniting all the militia and continental troops in one body, and of making an opposition wholly in front. He was of opinion, that a sufficient body of militia should alway be reserved to fall upon Burgoyne's flanks or rear, and to intercept his convoys. Stark however had concluded, on the day last mentioned, upon marching from Bennington to meet Lincoln at a certain appointed place, and to proceed with him and join Schuyler ; but while writing to the former, he received

infor-

1777. information, that the enemy were on their march to Cambridge.

General Burgoyne's progress toward Albany was delayed through the want of a speedy and sufficient supply of provisions. He considered in what way the difficulty was to be surmounted. According to information, the Americans had a great deposit of corn, flour and store cattle at Bennington, which was guarded only by militia. Every day's account confirmed the persuasion of the loyalty of one description of the inhabitants in that part of the country, and of the panic of the other. He therefore entertained the design of surprising the stores at Bennington, and of sending a very large detachment upon the expedition; but was diverted from the latter (as supposed) by major Skeen, who assured him, "The friends to the British cause are as five to one, and they want only the appearance of a protecting power to show themselves." Relying upon their attachment, the general sent the German lieut. col. Baum, with only about 500 men, and 100 Indians, who carried with them two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate the operation the army moved along the east shore of Hudson's River, and encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga; and a bridge of rafts being thrown over, the advance corps passed to that place. Lieut. col. Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, were posted at Batten-kill, in order if necessary to support Baum. Stark hearing that a party of Indians was at Cambridge, sent lieut. col. Gregg with 200 men to stop their progress. Toward night he was informed by express, that there was a large body of regulars in the rear of the Indians. On that he drew together his brigade,

gade, and the militia who were at hand, in order to stop 1777.
 their march; sent to Manchester for col. Warner's regiment, and forwarded expresses to the neighbouring militia to join him with all speed. He then marched, in the morning of the 14th, with col. Warner, Williams and Brush, and the men present, and in about seven miles met Gregg retreating, and the enemy within a mile of him. The troops drew up in order of battle; and the enemy, upon coming in sight, halted upon a very advantageous piece of ground. Baum perceiving that the Americans were too strong to be attacked by his present force, sent an express to Burgoyne with an account of his situation; and Breyman was immediately dispatched to reinforce him. Mean while small parties of the Americans skirmished with the enemy, killed and wounded thirty of them, with two Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves, which had a good effect upon their courage. The ground Stark, occupied not being suitable for a general action, he retreated about a mile and encamped. In a council of war it was agreed, to send two detachments into the enemy's rear, while the rest of the troops attacked in front.

It rained all day, which retarded the intended assault, Aug. however there were frequent skirmishings in small parties. The heavy rain, together with the badness of the roads, prevented also Breyman's advancing to Baum's assistance with dispatch. The next day, Stark being joined in the morning by col. Symond's from Berkshire, 15.
 pursued his plan. Baum, in the mean while, had intrenched and rendered his post as defensible as time and its nature would admit. Stark detached col. Nichols with 200 men to the rear of his left: col. Henrick, with 16.

1777. 300 men, was sent to the rear of his right: they were to join, and then attack. Cols. Hubbard and Stickney, with 200, were ordered still further on his right. A hundred men were also advanced toward his front to draw his attention that way. About three o'clock in the afternoon all were ready for the attack. Before Nichols and Henrick could join, the Indians pushed off between the two corps, but receiving a fire as they passed, had three killed and two wounded. Nichols then began the assault upon Baum, and was followed by the rest; those in front pushing forward. In a few minutes the action became general, and lasted about two hours, with one continued noise like the ruffling of a drum. Baum made a brave defence; and the German dragoons kept together after having expended their ammunition, and led by their colonel charged with their swords, but were soon overpowered. The whole detachment, though well enclosed by two breast works, were forced to give way to the superior number and courage of the Americans, who with their brown firelocks, scarce a bayonet, little discipline, and not a single piece of cannon, ventured to attack 500 well-trained regulars, furnished with the best and completest arms and accoutrements, having two pieces of artillery, being advantageously posted, and accompanied by a 100 Indians. When the militia had gained the victory, they dispersed to collect plunder, which they were very desirous of securing. This nearly proved fatal to them. While thus busied, Stark received information, that the reinforcement under Breyman was within two miles of him. Happily at that instant, Warner's continental regiment, which had been sent for from Manchester, came up fresh, marched on and began to engage;

engage: mean while the militia collected as fast as possible, and pushed on to its assistance. The action became general; and the battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset; when the Germans gave way partly through a failure of ammunition, leaving their two pieces of artillery behind them, and a number of prisoners. They retreated in the best manner they could, improving the advantage of the evening and of the night.

The Americans took four brass field pieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, four ammunition waggons, and about 700 prisoners, among whom was lieut. col. Baum. Three hundred dead are said to have been found upon the spot: but if so, surely the slain on each side must have been included. The Americans lost but about 100 killed and wounded. The courage of the men was sharpened by the prospect of advantage, for in gen. Stark's orders they were promised all the plunder that should be taken in the enemy's camp. The royal officers were astonished to see how undauntedly they rushed on the mouths of the cannon. Both men and officers are entitled to much honor for their gallant behaviour. Cols. Warner and Henrick's superior skill in military matters was of service to the general, who was less conversant with them than they: but his rank in the army of the United States was afterward given him by congress, on the 4th of October, when they "resolved, That the thanks of congress be presented to gen. Stark, of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington: and that brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier general in the

1777. army of the United States." Never were thanks more deservedly bestowed. This was the first turn of affairs in favor of the Americans in the northern department, after the death of gen. Montgomery. It raised the spirits of the country, and made the militia willing to turn out beyond what would otherwise have been done. When gen. Gates wrote to the commander in chief some days after his arrival at Still-water, he thus expressed himself—"Upon my leaving Philadelphia, the prospect this way appeared most gloomy, but the severe checks the enemy have met with at Bennington and in Tryon county, has given a more pleasing view of public affairs. I cannot sufficiently thank your excellency for sending col. Morgan's corps [of riflemen.] They will be of the greatest service to the army; for until the late successes this way, I am told it was quite panic struck by the Indians, and their tory and Canadian assassins in Indian dress. Few of the militia demanded are yet arrived, but I hear of great numbers on their march." Stark's victory gave reputation to the militia, as well as increased their courage. They found that neither British nor German regulars were invincible; but that they could beat both. The artillery and other trophies excited their hope and confidence. While the Americans were exulting upon the occasion on the one side, the royal army under Burgoyne experienced a degree of depression on the other; especially as the disaster at Bennington not only added to their delay, but gave Gates the opportunity of strengthening himself, by the arrival of the militia, who were upon their march to reinforce him. When he was upon his journey to take the command, he was much dejected, no less than the troops which
were

were to be under him; but the Bennington affair put ^{1777.} them both in better spirits, and afforded them some promising expectations. They relied on his abilities, so that his appearance at camp, and his mode of conducting military business, at once filled them with courage and resolution; and in a few days they faced about and advanced toward Burgoyne.

On the 30th the British commander had occasion to ^{Aug.} write to him; and in his letter complained of inhumanity ^{30.} exercised toward the provincial soldiers in the king's service after the affair of Bennington; and then hinted at retaliation. Gen. Gates in his answer of September the 2d, invalidated the charge, and then retorted the Indian cruelties, which he imputed to Burgoyne, saying, "Miss M'Rea, a young lady, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character, and amiable disposition, engaged to an officer of your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and there scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents with their six children, were all treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly residing in their once happy and peaceful dwelling. The miserable fate of Miss M'Rea was particularly aggravated, by her being dressed to receive her promised husband, when she met her murderer employed by you. Upward of 100 men, women and children, have perished by the hands of the ruffians, to whom, it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood." ^{Sept.} Gen. Burgoyne, in his reply of the 6th, vindicated his ^{6.} own character; showed that Miss M'Rea's death was no premeditated barbarity; and declared that that instance excepted, Gates's intelligence, respecting the cruelties

1777. elties of the Indians, was false. It might be erroneous in point of numbers and other circumstances; but Burgoyne was undoubtedly mistaken in pronouncing it all false, with only a single exception. The number of Indians that joined him was 500. The first party sent out, paid attention to the restrictions he had laid them under in his speech of June the 21st near Crown-point; and when they had made several of the Americans prisoners in the heat of action, treated them with European humanity. But they could not long brook such restraints. They grew uneasy, and reverted to their cruelties and habits of plunder; and several persons became victims to their mode of war. My account of Miss M'Rea's death will differ only circumstantially from Burgoyne's. Mr. Jones, her lover, anxious on her account, engaged some Indians of two different tribes to convey her away from among the Americans for the purpose of security. He might fear for her, on account of her father's being interested in the royal cause, and of her attachment to himself. He promised to reward the person, who should bring her safe to him, with a barrel of rum. The two who took her and carried her to some distance, disputed who of them should convey her to Mr. Jones. Each was anxious for the reward; and that the other might not receive it, one of them struck his tomahawk into her skull and killed her*. As no whisper contrary to her being of an unblemished character ever reached me, in any place or company; be it far from any future European writer to tomahawk her.

* This is the substance of the relation given by Mrs. M'Neil, who was in company with Miss M'Rea when taken by the Indians.

reputation *. Upon the first intelligence of what had happened, Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up the murderer, and threatened to put him to death. Many thought the threat would have been executed; but he was pardoned, upon the Indians agreeing to terms enjoined them by Burgoyne, which the general thought would be more efficacious than an execution to prevent similar mischiefs. He told their interpreter, that he would lose every Indian rather than connive at their enormities, or to that effect †. They were not however satisfied; and to his astonishment some of the tribes told him, at a council held the beginning of August, that they intended to return home, and demanded his concurrence and assistance. The general was convinced, that a cordial reconciliation was only to be effected, by a renunciation of all his former prohibitions, and an indulgence in blood and rapine: but he firmly adhered to the controls he had established, and the speech he made to them seemed to have the desired effect. But a desertion took place the next day, and they went off by scores, loaded with what plunder they had collected.

The murder of Miss M'Rea exasperated the Americans; and from that and other cruelties occasion was taken to blacken the royal party and army. The people detested that army which accepted of such Indian aid, and loudly reprobated that government which could call in such auxiliaries. Gen. Gates was not deficient in aggravating, by several publications, the excesses which had taken place; and with no small advantage to his own military operations.

* See Marquis de Chastellux's Travels in North America, vol. i. p. 417. † Earl of Harrington before the house of commons.

1777. General Lincoln, about this time, marched from Manchester to Pawlet, with the few militia that had joined him. Having received some reinforcement in order to divide and distract the royal army, he sent off with the
 Sept. 13. advice of his officers, on the 13th, col. Brown and five hundred men, to the landing at Lake George, to release the prisoners and destroy the British stores there; and the same number of men under col. Johnson to Mount Independence. The latter was to give a diversion to the enemy, while the former executed his command; and if an opportunity offered, without risking too much, to push for Mount Independence, while col. Brown attempted Tyconderoga. Further to amuse and divide the enemy, by attacking the out-posts, &c. a like number of men were sent under col. Woodbridge to Skeensborough, thence to Fort Anne, and so on toward Fort Edward. He doubted not, but that these movements would meet with gen. Gates's approbation, though made without his knowledge. He would have mentioned the design, and not have put the plan into execution without his advice, could he have been sure that the information would not have fallen into the hands of the enemy*.

Colonel Brown conducted his operations with such secrecy and address, that he effectually surprised all the
 18. out-posts between the landing at the north end of Lake George and the body of the fortress at Tyconderoga. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines and a blockhouse, with 200 batteaus, an armed sloop, and several gun-boats, were almost instantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Ca-

* Lincoln's letter.

nadians, and many of the officers and crews of the vessels, amounting in the whole to 293, were made prisoners, and 100 Americans released. Brown, beside taking a number of arms and other things, retook the continental standard left at Ty when the fort was evacuated. His loss in killed and wounded was trifling. Finding after four days trial, that he and Johnson could not master Ty and Mount Independence, they abandoned the design and returned.

While the aforementioned expedition was carrying on, gen. Burgoyne, having at length obtained about thirty days provision with other necessary stores, resolved upon passing the Hudson's river with the army; which having executed, he encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga. He took this measure upon himself, on the supposition that he was not authorized to call any officers into council, as the peremptory tenor of his orders, and the season of the year admitted of no alternative. He then advanced along the side of the river, and encamped on the heights about two miles from gen. Gates's camp, which was three miles above Still-water. On the 18th the Americans marched out 3000 strong in order to attack him, but found that to be prudentially impracticable. However they drew up in full view of him, and there tarried till dark. Gates was careful to keep col. Morgan's regiment of riflemen, and a large corps of light infantry under col. Durbin, always in advance, ready to oppose the approach of the enemy. Large scouting parties from this advanced body were continually patrolling to prevent a surprise. The next day, 19th gen. Burgoyne put himself at the head of the British line, which composed the right wing; this was covered

1777. by gen. Frazer and col. Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, being themselves covered by the Indians, provincials and Canadians in the front and flanks. He advanced toward the American left wing, through some intervening woods of no great extent; while the left of the royal army and artillery under the gens. Phillips and Reidesfel kept along the great roads and meadows by the river side.

Sept. 19. Some of the American scouting parties fall in with those of the British, and with great boldness begin the attack about one o'clock at noon. The firing is no sooner heard by gen. Phillips, than he makes his way, with a part of the artillery, through the wood, and renders essential service. Each commander supports, reinforces, and orders different regiments to engage; and the battle is hot and obstinate on both sides, till about half past two o'clock, when it ceases for half an hour. The American and British line being fully formed, the action is renewed, and becomes general at three. Both armies appear determined to conquer or die. There is one continual blaze of fire for three hours without intermission. The report of the muskets resembles an incessant roll-beating on a number of drums. The Americans and British alternately drive and are driven by each other. Three British regiments, the 20th, the 21st, and the 62d, are in constant and close fire for near four hours. All suffer considerable loss: the 62d, which was 500 strong when it left Canada, is reduced to less than 60 men, and to 4 or 5 officers. The 24th regiment belonging to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and a part of the light infantry are brought into action. Breyman's

man's riflemen, and some other parts of his corps, are ¹⁷⁷⁷ also of service; but only act occasionally. The American troops in action are those under Morgan and Durbin; the first, second and third New Hampshire regiments; the eighth, ninth and tenth Massachusetts; the second and third New York; and a Connecticut regiment of militia. The ninth Massachusetts regiment, col. Wesson's, is warmly engaged, and greatly distinguishes itself. Col. Scammell of the first New Hampshire regiment is peculiarly active, enterprising and brave; and leads on his men close to the enemy with great undauntedness, before he suffers them to fire. Capt. Jones, with his brigade of British artillery, behaves with the utmost intrepidity. His four cannon are repeatedly taken and retaken. He is killed, other officers are wounded; and thirty-six out of forty-eight of the matrosses are killed or wounded. Few actions have been characterized, by more obstinacy in attack or defence, than is the present. The British bayonet is repeatedly tried without effect. During the engagement many Americans place themselves in high trees in the rear of their own line; and there is seldom a minute's interval of smoke in any part of the British line, without officers being taken off by single shot. One is aimed at Burgoyne, but passes through the arm of capt. Green, aid de camp to Phillips, while delivering a message. The British commander's escape is owing to the captain's having a laced furniture to his saddle, which occasions his being mistaken for the general. Toward the close of the day, gen. Gates orders out of camp to the field of battle, the 10th Massachusetts regiment under

1777. col. Marshall *. When he comes upon the open ground, he is perceived by a British officer, who has entered the neighbouring wood with his soldiers, and is upon the point of overpowering an American regiment. The British officer quits the wood, calls out to him not to fire for that he is a friend. Marshall suspects it, but the dusk of the evening prevents his distinguishing the regimentals; he therefore orders his men to make ready. He observes the officer directing his soldiers, by the motion of his sword, how to form; and at length discerns the grenadier-caps, on which he calls out to his men *fire*. The British officer falls, and after a while the regiment seeks its safety in a retreat, which terminates the action in this quarter. In another spot, the Americans give way to the British bayonet and quit the field. Gen. Reidesfel, by exerting himself, brings up a part of the left wing, and arrives just in time to charge some of the Americans. But a regiment of the latter remains longest on the field of battle, by continuing upon it hours after the action totally ceases. Lieut. col. Brooks, who commands the eighth Massachusetts regiment, by order of gen. Gates, goes to the left of all the American troops, so as to out flank the British, when he forms his line; but perceives troops in front of him, whom he cannot clearly distinguish because of the lateness of the evening, and the dusk being increased by the trees. They soon fire, and kill one of his men, wounding others; on which he immediately engages them, and they give way. He concludes they are Germans from the brass cases on their breasts, for containing lighted

* He was lieut. col. of militia, when he gave evidence on the trial of the soldiers at Boston in 1770. See vol. i. p. 283.

match. Brooks remarking that the other American re-¹⁷⁷⁷giments are withdrawn, and that he cannot be supported in case the enemy advance upon him, and hearing them talk at a distance, changes his position, and falls back into the open road leading to the camp, and there remains. At length he sends to Gates for orders how to act, who directs him to return into camp; where it was before apprehended all the troops had collected that had been in action. It is near upon eleven o'clock at night when he quits the ground and returns.

The British lost in this action rather more than 500 in killed, wounded and prisoners*. The loss of the Americans was, officers included, 64 killed, 217 wounded, and 38 missing, in all 319†. None of their right wing or centre were engaged, excepting Marshall's regiment. The number that engaged was about 2500. Gates's whole army, with the militia present, was about 7000. Lincoln had not then joined him with his militia; neither was he in the action, but at or in the neighbourhood of Bennington. Arnold's division was out in the action, but he himself did not head them; he remained in the camp the whole time. The foreign officers said, that in all the engagements in which they had been, whether in Flanders or elsewhere, they never knew so long and hot a fire. The American army expended nearly all their ammunition, and had but about forty rounds a man left them. After the action, the general was under the necessity of sending not only for powder, but also to Albany for all the window leads and other lead that could be gotten for the making of bul-

* Lieut. col. Kingston before the house of commons.
board of war.

† The
lets.

1777. lets. He had never more than three days provision of flour at a time; but on the day of action the army had none, for it did not arrive till the 20th. It had been constantly the practice of gen. Gates, to take the precaution of having the baggage loaded every morning, and of being ready for a sudden movement; some of the British officers not knowing this was his practice, wrongly inferred from its being taken the morning after the action, that he was apprehensive of being pushed, and of being obliged to give way. The royal army however discovered apprehension, by lying all the ensuing night upon their arms, at some distance from the field of battle. The next day they took a position nearly within cannon shot of the Americans, and fortified their right. The engagement answered so little to the expectations of their Indian auxiliaries, that a fresh desertion among them took place, in this season of danger and distress; while a number of other Indians repaired to the American camp. The last were attending a treaty with the American commissioners; who, finding they were inclinable to engage in the war, prepared a speech, and the next day offered them the war belt, which was immediately and solemnly accepted by warriors of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagos, and Mohawks. On the 17th the war feast was prepared, at which the belt was solemnly accepted by the whole. The 18th and 19th passed in equipping them. Being informed the 19th at night, that the American army was engaged, many of the Indians marched off without delay, and with such dispatch as to reach Gates before noon next day, though the distance was very considerable, and by night the remainder arrived in camp making in all near 150.

The

The proximity of the two armies induced the American general to redouble his ardor in strengthening his left. The Americans are expert beyond all other nations, in the mode of defence by intrenchment, covered with strong abbatis *. From the 20th of September to the 7th of October, the armies were so near, that not a night passed without firing, and sometimes concerted attacks upon the British advanced piquets. No foraging party could be made by the royal troops, without great detachments to cover it. It was the American plan to harass the enemy by constant alarms †. Mean while, gen. Lincoln, agreeable to the orders sent him, marched toward the camp. By the 29th, he joined Gates with about 2000 militia.

General Burgoyne had, from the beginning, a firm hope of being powerfully succoured when wanted, and at any rate of being met and joined at Albany, by a strong force from the army at New York. With great difficulty he received, on the 21st, a letter in cypher from Sir H. Clinton, informing him, that the latter intended making a diversion on the North river, by attacking Fort Montgomery. Though this fell short of the aid he expected, he hoped it might afford essential service by obliging Gates to divide his army. He returned the messenger; and afterward dispatched two officers in disguise, and other confidential persons, all separately by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact situation and condition, and to press him urgently to the immediate prosecution of his design, and to inform him that in point of provision he could, and was determined to hold his present position, in hope of fa-

* Burgoyne's State of the Expedition from Canada. † Idem.

1777. vorable events, until the 12th of October. The British commander had to encounter disappointments and difficulties; and the American was not exempted. The latter wrote to gen. Washington on the 5th of October, "I am sorry to repeat to your excellency the distress I have suffered for want of a proper supply of musket cartridges from Springfield, or the materials to make them. My anxiety also on account of provisions has been inexpressible. A greater error has not been committed this war, than the changing the commissariat in the middle of the campaign."

Sir H. Clinton's intended diversion did not commence so soon as proposed; for the British reinforcement under gen. Robertson, amounting to near 2000 men, did not arrive from Europe till about the beginning of October. They were three months on their passage, owing partly to contrary winds, and partly to their being on board heavy-sailing Dutch bottoms. Had they arrived a month sooner, the state of affairs would undoubtedly have been widely different. When they did arrive, Clinton lost no time in employing them. Numbers of them were immediately removed to proper vessels, and joined in the expedition against the forts in the highlands. The arrangements being made, he proceeded up the North river with about 4000 men; and landed on the fourth of October at Tarry-town, meaning to excite an apprehension in gen. Putnam, that his post at Peek's-kill was the object. A thousand continental troops had been left him, wherewith to defend it, but the effectives were fewer: he had made repeated application for militia from New York state and Connecticut, but had been joined by very few, they having been called away upon
an

an expedition against the royal force on Rhode Island. 1777.
 At eight at night, he wrote to gov. Clinton, and informed him of the arrival of the British, and what he thought was their destination. The governor, upon the receipt of the letter, penetrated his name-fake's design; prorogued the assembly the next day; and hastened to Fort Montgomery, where he arrived at night. The royal troops were secretly transferred across the river, and dispositions made, for an assault upon the forts, on the sixth.

The American advanced party is attacked by the enemy at Doodle-town, about two miles and a half from Fort Montgomery. They receive the enemy's fire, and retreat to Fort Clinton. The enemy then advance to the west side of the mountain, to attack the Americans in the rear. Gov. Clinton orders out a detachment of 100 men toward Doodle-town, and another of 60 with a brass field piece, to a very good spot on a different road. They are both attacked soon by the enemy's whole force, and obliged to give way; but behave with spirit, and retreat with great order till they reach the fort. The governor immediately posts his men in the most advantageous manner; but it is not many minutes before his post, as well as Fort Clinton, is invaded on all sides. He is summoned, when the sun is about an hour high, to surrender in five minutes; but refuses. In about ten minutes after, the British make a general and desperate attack on both posts, which is received with spirit. Officers and men, as well militia as continental, behave well. A most incessant fire is kept up till dusk, when the assailed are overpowered by numbers, who force the lines and redoubts at both posts. Not a few of the Americans fight their way out, others
 mix

1777. mix with the enemy, and so make their escape, knowing all the avenues in the mountains, and being favored by the night. The governor, and his brother gen. James Clinton, who is wounded, but not dangerously, get clear off. The former is joined the next day by better than 200 of the garrison; and is in expectation of many more.

The whole garrison consisted of but 600 men, not one half of whom had bayonets, wherewith to oppose those of the enemy, whose repeated assaults with that weapon at length prevailed. When it was evident that the enemy meant an attack upon these posts, application was made for a reinforcement from Peek's-kill; but through mistake, and the treachery of the issuing commissary at Fort Montgomery, it was not sent in time; the forts were carried while it was crossing the river, which occasioned its return. A seasonable supply of 500 men might have secured them. They were no sooner lost, but Fort Constitution was demolished without the orders of the governor, and without first removing the artillery and stores. The Americans set fire also to two fine new frigates, and some other vessels, which with their guns and stores were all consumed. Gen. Tryon was sent off with a detachment, and destroyed a new settlement, called Continental-village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, beside many stores.

The cannon, stores, ammunition, &c. taken and destroyed by the British, were very considerable; but the main advantage obtained by them, was the opening of the passage up the North river. This had been obstructed by a boom and chain running across the river from Fort Montgomery. The chain weighed above fifty tons, and the links were about two and a half inches square. There

was

was another inferior boom near Fort Constitution. These 1777 booms and chain cost the Americans an amazing deal of labor, and more than fifty thousand pound sterling, as is supposed, in paper continental money. The reduction of the forts put the British into immediate possession of the power of removing these obstructions, and of passing up to Albany. Gen. Putnam was in such expectation of their improving this advantage, that he wrote to gen. Gates on the 8th, "I cannot flatter you or myself with the hopes of preventing the enemy's advancing, therefore prepare for the worst." The next day he said, "The Connecticut militia came in yesterday, and the day before in great numbers, but am sorry to say, they already begin to run away. The enemy can take a fair wind, and with their flat-bottomed boats, which have all sails, go to Albany or Half Moon with great expedition, and I believe without any opposition." Half Moon is sixteen miles below where Gates was encamped. The same day a spy was brought before gov. Clinton, and confessed—"That he was charged by Sir Henry to go to Burgoyne and acquaint him, that on Monday, the 6th, he stormed and carried the forts with the loss of lieut. col. Campbell, majors Grant and Sill slain; besides a number of other officers, and upward of 300 rank and file, killed and wounded:—That a number of people were employed, who went constantly from one army to the other:—That gen. Clinton intended to push up the river;—and that a capt. Campbell of Burgoyne's army, lately arrived with dispatches to Sir Henry, and set off on his return, the Wednesday morning, with the news of the reduction of Fort Montgomery." The captain however, did not get back to Burgoyne till the

1777. night before the convention was signed. The spy did not mention the death of count Grabouski, a Polish nobleman, who was killed in the attack, while acting as aid-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton.

Let us now attend the motions of gens. Burgoyne and Gates. In the beginning of October, the British commander judged it expedient to lessen the soldiers rations of provision, to which they submitted with cheerfulness. Things continued in this state with the royal army till Oct. the 7th, when no intelligence having been received of 7. the expected co-operation, and four or five days for their limited stay in the camp only remaining, it was thought advisable to make a movement to the left of the Americans, not only to discover whether there was any possible mean of forcing a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or of dislodging them for the convenience of a retreat; but also to cover a forage of the army in the greatest distress by the present scarcity.

Before gen. Gates has gained any knowledge of this intended movement, he has ordered out a party of about 300 men in the morning: soon after he directs lieut. col. Brooks to repair to head quarters, when he gives him the command of them, and desires him to call between one and two o'clock for particular directions. The party is destined to go into the rear of Burgoyne, to drive in his out posts, and to occasion an alarm, which Gates means to take advantage of, if opportunity offers. But unknown to him, a royal detachment of 1500 regular troops, with two twelve pounders, two howitzers, and six six-pounders, are ordered to move, being commanded by Burgoyne in person, seconded by gens. Phillips, Reidesel, and Frazer.

The guard of the camp upon the high grounds is committed to gens. Hamilton and Specht; that of the redoubts and plain near the river to brigadier Gall. The force of the Americans in front is thought to be so much superior, that it is not judged safe to augment the detachment beyond the number stated.

While Brooks is waiting at the American head quarters, a sergeant arrives with an account of the motion of the royal detachment; which is speedily confirmed. On this the party he was to have commanded is dismissed; and the officers and men present are ordered to their posts. Burgoyne's scouting parties are driven in by col. Morgan's riflemen and the corps of light infantry; but his troops continue advancing, and are formed within three quarters of a mile of Gates's left. The artillery is posted on a clear spot of ground, in a great measure surrounded by woods, the two medium twelve pounders on a small eminence, nearly in the centre of it. The irregulars are pushed on through by-ways to gain the American rear, and to keep them in check. Gen. Arnold, who has mounted his horse, receives a message from Gates, directing him to be cautious, for that he apprehends Burgoyne designs to make his main attack on the right. Arnold shows much displeasure at it, expresses himself improperly, and says, "I will be answerable for consequences." He orders out Cilly's New Hampshire regiment with others, and soon follows them. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the American column approaches the royal detachment; and is immediately fired upon by the twelve pounders and the four six pounders; notwithstanding which, the men draw up along the skirts of the woods behind trees, about 200 yards

1777. yards distant from the artillery. They make a very sudden and rapid attack upon the British grenadiers, who are posted to support the left wing of the line. Major Ackland at the head of them sustains this fierce attack with great resolution. Gen. Gates having ordered out more regiments, the number of the Americans enables them soon to extend the attack along the whole front of the Germans, who are posted immediately on the right of the grenadiers. It is therefore impracticable to remove any of the Germans, for the purpose of forming a second line to the flank, where the stress of the fire lies. The right is still unengaged; but it is observed, that the Americans are marching a large corps round their flank in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, which are joined with them at the post, are directed to form a second line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into camp. While this movement is in process, the Americans push forward a fresh and strong reinforcement to renew the action on Burgoyne's left; which is totally overpowered and compelled to give way: on this the light infantry and 24th regiment, are obliged, by a quick movement, to attempt saving that wing from being totally ruined; but in doing it gen. Frazer is mortally wounded. The situation of the detachment is now exceeding critical; but the danger to which the lines are exposed, is still more alarming. Gens. Phillips and Reidesel are ordered to cover the retreat; and those troops which are nearest or most disengaged, return as fast as they can for the defence of the lines. A little after five, in the height of the action, lieut. col. Brooks,

by

by Gates's order, quits the camp at the head of col. Michael Jackson's regiment, and directs his march to the warmest fire. On advancing into the field, he finds the royal detachment has given way in all quarters, and Arnold pushing with Paterfon's brigade for the works possessed by the British light infantry assisted by some of the line, who have just thrown themselves into the same, with great precipitation, by means of a circuitous retreat. The brigade has a large abbatis to cross, and many other obstructions to surmount, in the face of a brave enemy, occupying works advantageously constructed and completed, it is therefore at length compelled to retire. But during the contest, Jackson's regiment passing the rear of the brigade, falls into the fire on its left, having in front two stockade redoubts occupied by some Canadians, and the left of the works in which are the German grenadiers under col. Breyman. At some considerable distance on the left of Brooks are Wesson's regiment, Morgan's corps, and the York troops. Paterfon's brigade failing, Arnold leaves it, and comes to Jackson's regiment, which he orders instantly to advance, and attack the lines and redoubts in front. Brooks commands two platoons from the right to attack the stockades: they move with great rapidity, carry the point with charged bayonets, and suffer little more than the loss of two lieutenants killed. The regiment instantly makes an assault on the main lines, though manned with double its number. Arnold having given Brooks his orders, passes on to the left; and having ordered the Americans there to make a general assault, returns to Jackson's regiment, the left of which has arrived at the works; and a small sally-port pre-

1777. senting, Arnold and a part of the left platoon pass through together. The enemy retire firing, and gain their tents about thirty or forty yards from the works; but finding the assault is general, they give one fire, and either retreat to the British camp or throw down their arms. By this last fire Arnold is wounded, and a sergeant of Jackson's regiment, standing near the general, killed. Orders are given by Burgoyne for the recovery of the intrenchments of the German reserve; but they are not executed, and the Americans remain in possession of an opening on the right and rear of the royal army. The night puts an end to the action.

The heat of it, with small arms, lasted about forty minutes; but the cannonading continued after the royal detachment had given way. In the course of it, a shot passed through gen. Burgoyne's hat, and another tore his waistcoat. A battalion of Brunswickers ran, though not one of them was killed, and would never come on again *. To this misbehaviour some may be ready to ascribe the want of success on the side of the British, and as a consequence of it, the loss of the whole army. Whatever such misbehaviour might contribute toward the event, the bravery of the Americans had certainly a very considerable share in it. The royal detachment was driven by them near upon two miles, and had scarce entered the camp, when it was stormed by them with great fury; for they rushed on to the lines under one of the heaviest cannonades of artillery, grape shot, and rifle fire ever beheld, and never gave way till they met the British grenadiers. Some of the British officers were astonished at hearing the fire of the American musketry

* Captain Money's declaration in the house of commons.

kept up with such vigor and constancy, after undergoing so heavy a fire of artillery *. One of the bravest of them † is ready to declare, that, whenever he has been opposed to the Americans, they have fought with courage and obstinacy. He found it so in the above action. Gen. Arnold was next to military mad. He appeared, in the heat of the engagement, so beside himself as scarce to know what he did. He struck several of the officers with his sword, without any apparent reason; and when they told him of it the next day, meaning to remonstrate and require satisfaction, he declared he recollected nothing at all of it, and was sorry if it was so. Some of his orders were exceedingly rash and injudicious, and argued thoughtlessness rather than courage ‡. His attack upon the British, varied so from established military maxims, that the royal officers inferred from it, that gen. Gates did not personally command in the action. Gates remained for the most part in the camp, as on the 19th of September, that he might the better guide the general operations, and give the necessary directions as they were wanted. Arnold's left-handed variation, might however contribute greatly toward obtaining the victory. The British have been at length taught by experience, that neither American attacks, nor resistance, are to be despised.

Nothing could easily exceed the distress and calamity of the royal army, when the day was closed. The Americans halted half a mile in the rear of them; and between twelve and one o'clock at night, gen. Lincoln (who, during the action, was in the centre of the

* Idem.
was my informer.

† Earl of Balcarras.

‡ Lieut. col. Brooks

1777. encampment; commanding within the works) marched with his division to relieve the troops that had been engaged, and to possess the ground they had gained. The situation of the British made a total change of position necessary to secure them from certain destruction. It was executed during the night, with a great degree of coolness, silence, order and intrepidity. It was a general remove of the whole army, of the camp and artillery, from its late ground, to the heights above the hospital; with the design, by an entire change of the front, of reducing the Americans; if possible, to the necessity of forming a new disposition. This remove was accomplished without any loss whatever. The day of action proved fatal to numbers. The officers suffered exceedingly. Several, who had been grievously wounded in the former action, and disdained absence from danger, were again wounded. Beside gen. Frazer, Sir James Clarke Burgoyne's aid de camp, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Major Williams of the artillery, and major Ackland, were also taken, the latter being wounded. Lieut. col. Breyman was killed when the intrenchment where he commanded was forced. The lists of killed and wounded, though avowedly imperfect, and not including the Germans, are very considerable. The loss of the Americans was trifling both in men and officers. They took officers and privates, to the amount of rather more than 200; beside 9 pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade with all their equipage. But what was of the utmost consequence, they obtained a large supply of ammunition from among the spoils of the field, under an excessive scarcity of which they had long labored. The same troops were

5

engaged

engaged as on the 19th of September, with detached 1777.
regiments, from gens. Glover and Paterfon's brigades,
together with a strong brigade of New Hampshire mi-
litia, and Green Mountain boys, alias Vermont militia.

The royal troops were under arms the whole day of Oct.
the 8th, in continual expectation of an action, and were 8.
cannonaded during the greatest part of it: but all that
happened was a succession of skirmishes, which occasi-
oned loss on both sides. Gen. Lincoln was wounded in
his leg by a random shot of the enemy, as riding in
company with gen. Gates. About sun set, the corpse
of gen. Frazer was brought up the hill, attended only
by the officers who had lived in his family, for he de-
sired it might be carried, without parade, by the soldiers
of his corps to the great redoubt, and there buried. It
necessarily passed within view of both armies: gens.
Phillips, Reidesel and Burgoyne, standing together, were
struck with the humility of the procession. Their con-
forming to that privacy which had been requested, might
be construed into neglect. They could neither endure
that reflection, nor restrain their natural propensity to
pay their last attention to his remains. They followed
the corpse to the grave. The incessant cannonade during
the solemnity:—the steady attitude, and unaltered voice
with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently
covered with dust, thrown up on all sides of him by the
shot:—the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility
and indignation upon every countenance:—together with
the growing duskiness of the evening, may be hereafter
described by the pen of the British commander, as
marking a character of that juncture, which makes one
of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master, that the

1777. field ever exhibited *. But had gen. Burgoyne acquainted the American commander with the intended procession, the scenery would have been varied; for Gates, instead of admitting the cannonade, would rather have ordered minute guns to have been fired in honor to the deceased; and could he have gained in time the knowledge of what was going forward, would undoubtedly have silenced the former.

General Gates, previous to the action, posted 1400 Americans on the heights opposite the ford of Saratoga, and 2000 in the rear to prevent a retreat to Fort Edward; afterward on the 8th, he posted 1500 at the ford higher up. Gen. Burgoyne, having received intelligence of it, and apprehending that Gates meant to turn his right, which when effected would have enclosed him completely, resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. The army began to move at nine o'clock at night, and the movement was made without loss; but the hospital with the sick and wounded, was necessarily abandoned. In this instance, as well as in every other which occurred in the course of these transactions, Gates behaved with such attention and humanity, to all whom the fortune of war threw into his hands, as does honor to his character. The badness of the roads, and the starving condition of the cattle for want of forage, together with one incessant rain, like a continued thunder shower from about eight in the morning of the 9th till long after the day closed, and other difficulties, prevented the army's reaching Saratoga, though no more than about six miles distant, before night, and then worn down with excessive fatigue. During the rain a body of militia

* Burgoyne's State.

continued their march, and got in above Gates's army, 1777. but some way below Fort Edward. Gates being informed of their arrival, ordered them immediately to the fort. They arrived there the next morning early, about two or three hours before a detachment sent off by Burgoyne to possess that post could get up to it. The detachment finding it occupied by the Americans, returned much dispirited.

When the royal artillery and army had passed the fords of the Fish-kill creek, a little to the northward of Saratoga on the morning of the 10th, they found a body of Americans already arrived, who retired at their approach over a ford of Hudson's river, and there joined a greater force, stationed to prevent the passage of the British. No hope remained, but that of effecting a retreat at least to Fort George. Artificers were sent forward to repair the bridges; but they were not long departed from the camp with a strong escort, when the sudden appearance of the Americans, on the opposite heights, with an apparent preparation to pass the Fish-kill, and bring on an engagement, rendered it necessary to recall the 47th regiment, and Frazer's marksmen—these with Mackoy's provincials formed the escort. The workmen had only commenced the repair of the first bridge, when they were abandoned by their provincial guard, who ran away and left them to shift for themselves, upon a slight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans.

On the morning of the 11th, gen. Gates called the Oa. general officers together, and informed them of his having received certain intelligence, which might be depended upon, that the main body of Burgoyne's army

1777. was marched off for Fort Edward with what they could take, and that a rear guard only was left in the camp, who after a while were to push off as fast as possible, leaving the heavy baggage behind. On this it was concluded to advance, and attack the camp in half an hour. The officers repaired immediately to their respective commands. Gen. Nixon's, being the eldest brigade, crossed the Saratoga creek first. Unknown to the Americans, Burgoyne had a line formed behind a parcel of brush wood, to support the post of artillery, where the others meant to make their attack. Gen. Glover was upon the point of following Nixon. Just as he entered the water, he saw a British foldier making across, whom he called and examined. The foldier said he had deserted, that he belonged to the bullock guard (the guard placed over the cattle) and that he was going to the Americans. Glover asked him about Burgoyne's army. The foldier answered, it is encamped the same as days past. Glover told him—"If you are found attempting to deceive me, you shall be hung in half an hour; but if you speak nothing but the truth, you shall be protected and meet with good usage." He then asked him—"Have not numbers been sent off to Fort Edward?" The deserter replied—"A small detachment was sent off a day or two ago, but are returned on finding the passes occupied by the Americans, and the whole army is now in camp." Glover, though the junior officer to Nixon, sent off immediately to him, to desist and recross the creek; and at the same time dispatched his aid de camp, with the deserter behind him on horseback to Gates; who having examined the foldier, hurried away the aid de camp, the adjutant general and others,

to countermand the former orders and prevent the at- 1777.
 tack. Gen. Nixon upon Glover's message retreated;
 but before he had recrossed, the fog cleared off, and the
 rear of his brigade was galled by the enemy's cannon,
 which killed several of his men. Before the orders from
 gen. Gates arrived, the British deserter's information was
 confirmed by like intelligence from a German deserter*.
 Glover's message was received by Nixon in the critical
 moment; a quarter of an hour later would probably
 have proved fatal to his whole brigade, and given a turn
 to affairs in favor of the royal army. On incidents of
 this kind may depend the rise and fall of mighty king-
 doms, and the far distant future transfer of power, glory
 and riches, of arts and sciences, from Europe to Ame-
 rica. Are they blind unmeaning casualties? Or are they
 the direct orderings of a Divine Being, for the establish-
 ment of his own purpose, by a superintending Provi-
 dence, amid the jarring devices of mortals?

Gates after a victory acknowledged in general orders
 a Providence, but did not presume upon it, so as to
 neglect the dictates of human prudence. That he
 might secure all the advantages of the successful action
 on the 7th, he applied to the New Hampshire assem-
 bly for more troops. The speaker, John Langdon
 esq; upon receiving the application, immediately pro-
 posed that the assembly should adjourn, and that as
 many of the members as could, should set off directly
 as volunteers for the camp, taking with them all the
 men they could collect: which was agreed to, and done
 by himself and others.

* General Glover's information given me at Boston, March 18,
 1785.

1777. In the course of the above transactions, large quantities of baggage, provision, boats, &c. were taken by both the continentals and militia. The latter were extremely eager after plunder; and even robbed the former, as opportunity offered, of what they had secured, and made sale of it for their own advantage. The irregularities in this business were so gross, that the American commander, on the 12th, gave out in general orders—"The general sees so many scandalous and mean transactions, committed by persons who seek more after plunder than the honor of doing their duty in a becoming and soldier-like manner, that he is obliged to declare his unalterable resolution, to have the first person who shall hereafter be detected pillaging the baggage and stores taken from the enemy, tried and punished with the utmost severity of the military law. Officers, who know their duty, and have virtue to practise it, will not be seeking plunder, when they ought to be doing their best service in the field; it is only the worthless and the pilfering that are so truly infamous. For the future, all plunder taken from the enemy is to be delivered to lieut. col. Hay, deputy quarter master general, who is to give a receipt for the same, and after three days public notice in general orders, it shall be sold by auction in the most central place in the rear of the army; and the money for which the plunder is sold, shall be properly and fairly divided, to such persons as, in the impartial judgment of the general, have a right to receive a share: when there is a sum sufficient to divide among the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the whole army, they may be assured of such having their just quota,"

It is believed, that gen. Burgoyne, when upon the 1777 point of retreating, said to major Skeen to this purport —“ You have been the occasion of getting me into this difficulty, now advise me how to get out of it,”—referring to the advice the major gave in relation to the Bennington expedition: and that the major answered—“ Scatter your baggage, stores and every thing else that can be spared, at proper distances; and the militia will be so engaged in collecting and securing the same, that the troops will have an opportunity of getting clear off.” The major certainly knew the cast of the militia; and if military honor and other circumstances, had admitted of trying the proposed expedient, it might have succeeded; for though gen. Gates had the continentals under good discipline, it would have been next to impossible for him to have prevented the militia’s being taken in by the hopes of immediate gain.

Burgoyne was at length reduced to the necessity of conforming in a degree to the expedient. The only measure that appeared practicable for the escape of the army, though difficult and dangerous, was by a night march to gain Fort Edward, the troops carrying their provisions on their backs. The impossibility of conveying, in their present situation, the artillery and carriages, was too evident to admit of a question. It was proposed to force the fords at or near the fort. But all hope of effecting this manœuvre soon failed. The Americans who had been ordered there, were too strongly posted. Beside, they made a discovery, which they greatly improved. Below the fort, close in with the river, they found the appearance of a grave, with an inscription on a board—*Here lies the body of lieutenant ———*. They were

1777. were at a loss what it should mean. On searching, they discovered three boats, instead of a body. These the enemy had concealed. Having none of their own, they by the help of them sent scouting parties across the river, which by falling into a track a mile and a half beyond, discouraged the enemy's parties from attempting an escape that way. A continental captain, on furlough for his health, being at hand and thoroughly acquainted with the woods, collected a number of men together, and went off six miles further, where he fell in with another track, just in time to prevent a large corps of Canadians and others, getting off by the same. Perceiving them as they advanced, he concealed his men till they were near enough, and then gave them a volley, attended with yells, shouts, and other sounds, which put them into such confusion, that they fled back to Burgoyne's camp, with the report that the woods were filled with thousands of Americans. The certain intelligence that was received, the flying reports that were spread, and the various circumstances that existed, rendered the state and situation of the royal army deplorably calamitous. They had been obliged for some days to lie continually upon their arms.

Oct. 13. On the 13th, gen. Burgoyne finding that the troops had only three days provision in store, on short allowance, and no apparent means of retreat remaining, called into council all the generals, field officers, and captains commanding corps. There was not a spot of ground in the whole camp for holding the council of war, but what was exposed to cannon or rifle shot. While the council was deliberating, an eighteen pound ball crossed the table. By the unanimous advice and con-

concurrence of the council, the general was induced to '777. open a treaty with gen. Gates. The first proposals of the latter were rejected, and the sixth article with disdain, wherein it was required, that the British army should lay down their arms in the intrenchments. Burgoyne's counter-proposals were unanimously approved; and being sent to Gates were agreed to, on the 15th, without any material alteration. The proposals not being signed by either party, and capt. Campbell returning in the night of the 16th to Burgoyne, with the news of the reduction of Fort Montgomery and other intelligence, the general submitted it to consideration, whether it was consistent with public faith, and, if so, expedient to suspend the execution of the treaty, and trust to events. The opinion of different officers was asked in regard to the condition of their respective corps, and what might be expected from them severally in desperate cases. Some entertained doubts of part of the troops, if the negotiation ceased; and others of a greater part for want of bodily strength, if desperate enterprises were to be afterward undertaken. The majority of the council determined, that the public faith was *bona fide* plighted*. Burgoyne, from the intelligence brought in the night by Campbell, entertained a slight hope of remote relief, and accordingly gave his voice against the majority; but the majority having determined differently, the concurrence for signing the treaty was unanimous†. Gates, jealous lest the signing would be unnecessarily delayed, and fearful of the consequences which might follow, should gen. Vaughan with his troops come up in time to Burgoyne's assistance, determined upon bringing the matter to an immediate issue. On the morning of the Oct. 17th, he got every thing in readiness for attacking the royal '77.

* Earl of Balcarras in the house of commons. † Idem.

1777. army. This done, he took out his watch, the time agreed upon for signing being come; sent col. Grea-ton on horse-back to Burgoyne with a message, requiring the general to sign; and allowed him no more than ten minutes to go and return. He was back in time. The treaty was signed; all hostile appearances ceased; and the Americans marched into their lines, to the tune of Yankee Doodle. They were kept there until the royal army had marched out of their lines, and deposited their arms at the place appointed by the treaty.

The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflects the highest honor upon the American general. It intimated, that he was sensible of the mortification attending a reverse of fortune; and that he was unwilling to aggravate the painful feelings of the royal troops, by admitting the American soldiery to be eye-witnesses to the degrading spectacle of piling their arms. His humanity and politeness are the more praise-worthy, as some late, as well as former circumstances, had highly enraged the militia. The extraordinary and severe measures pursued upon the North river by the British, and to be related below, might also have afforded too much colour for a different mode of conduct.

When the arms were deposited agreeable to treaty, the royal troops were served with bread by the Americans, as they had neither any left nor flour to make it. They had only one day's salt meat remaining.

The treaty is styled—*A convention between lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and major-general Gates.* The articles follow:—1. The troops under lieut. gen. Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river, where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left.—The arms to be piled by word of command

command from their own officers:—2. A free passage ^{1777.} to be granted to the army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of transports, to receive the troops, whenever gen. Howe shall so order:—3. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void, as far as such exchange shall be made:—4. The army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne is to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest, and most expeditious, and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed when transports arrive to receive them:—5. The troops to be supplied on the march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions, by major gen. Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if possible, the officers horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates:—6. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; lieut. gen. Burgoyne giving his honor, that there are no public stores contained therein. Major gen. Gates will of course take the necessary measures for the due performance of this article: should any carriages be wanted during the march, for the transportation of officers baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied by the country at the usual rates:—7. Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters, in the Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The offi-

1777. cers are to be quartered according to their rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll-callings, and other necessary purposes of regularity:—8. All corps whatever of lieut. gen. Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects:—9. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there: they are to be conducted immediately by the shortest route to the first British post on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America:—10. Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who shall be appointed by lieut. gen. Burgoyne, to carry dispatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain by the way of New York; and major gen. Gates engages the public faith, that these dispatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their dispatches, and are to travel by the shortest route, and in the most expeditious manner:—11. During the stay of the troops in the Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be permitted to wear their side arms:—12. Should the army under lieut. gen. Burgoyne, find it necessary to send for their clothing and

and other baggage from Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner, and necessary passports to be granted for that purpose:—13. These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning at nine o'clock; and the troops under lieut. gen. Burgoyne, are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon. Camp at Saratoga, October 16, 1777.

HORATIO GATES, Major-general.

To prevent any doubts that might arise from lieut. gen. Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, major gen. Gates hereby declares, that he is understood to be comprehended in it, as fully as if his name had been specifically mentioned.

HORATIO GATES.

Such was the impatience of some of the militia to return home before the royal army had been brought to surrender, and so little their concern to be spectators of the event, that one of the Northampton regiments went off the day before the flag came out from Burgoyne. Another regiment took itself away while the treaty was in agitation. But the fate of the army will confirm the truth of what its commander wrote to lord George Germain, August the 20th, "The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the congress in principle and zeal." When after the convention the officers went into the American camp, they were surprised; and some of them said, that of all the camps they had ever seen in Germany or elsewhere, they never saw any better disposed and secured.

The return signed by gen. Burgoyne, of the foreigners at the time of the convention, amounted to 2412. The

1777-British consisted, according to him, of 10 officers present—145 commissioned—the staff 26—sergeants and drummers 297—rank and file 2901—in all 3379: this added to the Germans, makes 5791. The American account, to show what was the sum total of the royal army acting in the northern department against the country, goes on to reckon, the sick taken 928—the wounded 528—prisoners of war before the convention 400—deserters 300—lost at Bennington 1220—killed, between the 17th of September to the 18th of October, 600—taken at Tyconderoga 413—killed in gen. Herkimer's battle about 300—making in all, 4689. According to this way of reckoning, the royal force was 10,480. It was probably full 10,000 strong, including Canadians and provincials, and exclusive of Indians, drivers, sutlers, &c. Among the prisoners taken were six members of parliament.

The train of brass artillery was a fine acquisition; it consisted of 2 twenty-four pounders—4 twelves—20 sixes—6 threes—2 eight inch howitzers—5 five and a half royal ditto—and 3 five and a half inch royal mortars—in all, 42 pieces of ordnance. There were also 4647 muskets—6000 dozen of cartridges, beside shot, carcasses, cases, shells, &c.

Burgoyne was desirous of a general return of the army commanded by Gates at the time of the convention. The latter understood him, and was careful not to lessen the return by suppressing a single man. The continentals, all ranks included, were 9093; the militia 4129, in all 13,222: but of the former, the sick and on furlough were 2103; and of the latter, 562. The number
of

of the militia was continually varying; and many of them were at a considerable distance from the camp. 1777.

We now enter upon the relation of the measures pursued by the British below Albany. You have been told what were the sentiments of gen. Putnam, on the 9th, as to their sailing up to within sixteen miles of the American camp, before removed from the neighbourhood of Still-water. Sir H. Clinton however, instead of pushing up the river, intrusted the business to Sir James Wallace and gen. Vaughan. The latter had under him 3600 men. Sir James commanded a flying squadron of light frigates, accompanied with the necessary appendage of barges, batteaus and boats, for landing the troops, and all other movements. By the 13th they reached Kingston alias Æsopus, a fine village, as you would call it; but on this side the Atlantic, a good town. Upon Vaughan's landing the troops, the Americans, being too weak to make resistance, abandoned their battery of three guns after spiking them. They left the town immediately for their own safety, without firing from the houses upon the British. Vaughan however, was told that Burgoyne had actually surrendered*; and the town was doomed to the flames. The whole was reduced to ashes, and not a house left standing. The American gov. Clinton was a tame spectator of the barbarity, but only for want of a sufficient force to attack the enemy. This seemingly revengeful devastation, was productive of a pathetic but severe letter from gen. Gates (then in the height of vic-

* Mr. James Beekman, an eminent merchant belonging to New York, and who quitted Æsopus when Vaughan approached it, informed me of these particulars, Sept. 29, 1783, at his house in Morris county, New Jersey.

1777·tory) to gen. Vaughan. The latter with a flood tide might have reached Albany in four hours: there was no force to have hindered him. When he burnt Livingston's upper mills, had he proceeded to Albany and burnt the American stores, Gates, as he himself has declared, must have retreated into New England. The royalists may justly remark upon the occasion—"Why a delay was made of seven days after Clinton had taken the forts we are ignorant of. The highland forts were taken the 6th of October; *Æfopus* was burnt the 13th; Burgoyne's convention was signed the 17th. There was no force to oppose even open boats on the river; why then did not the boats proceed immediately to Albany? Had Clinton gone forward, Burgoyne's army had been saved. Putnam could not have crossed to Albany. The army amused themselves with burning *Æfopus*, and the houses of individuals on the river's bank *." While the British were manœuvring in and about the North River, doing mischief to individuals, without serving their own cause in the least, gen. Gates had express upon express, urging him to send down troops to oppose the enemy. On the 14th he wrote to gov. Clinton—"I have ordered the commanding officer at Fort Schuyler to send Van Shaack's regiment without delay to Albany—desired brigadier general Gansevoort to repair to that city, and take the command of all the troops that may assemble there—and have sent down the two *Æfopus* regiments, the Tryon county militia, and most of the militia of Albany county." But he would not weaken his hold of Burgoyne by any detachment of continentals from his own army, or of New England militia. The

* See the Loyalist's letters,

New York state militia, that repaired to the governor to 1775. assist the inhabitants, did as much mischief as the enemy, the burning of houses and other buildings excepted. It is too much the case of all militia, that when they march to the assistance of their countrymen against a common enemy, they do the former a great deal of damage. The laxness of their discipline, and their unreasonable claims of indulgences from those whom they are to protect, make them expensive and disagreeable guests.

When the convention troops began their march to Boston, the Americans lined the road and hill on each side. They expected to have met with many insults while passing through the centre of them, supposed to be between 11 and 12,000; but to their great surprise, not even the least gesture was made use of by way of insult. When they had marched on, Gates pushed the army forward, with the utmost expedition, to stop the cruel career of the British up the North River. Upon the approach of the Americans, Vaughan and Wallace retired to New York.

It will be some days, before the vessel for France, with the news of Burgoyne's fate, can sail: which admits of my adding to the present letter, destined to go by that conveyance, some other matters proper for insertion.

The Rev. Mr. Duché, formerly the chaplain of congress, made an attempt, by writing, on the patriotism of gen. Washington; nothing more need be said of the transaction, than what the general has done, in a letter of Oct. the 16th, —“ To Mr. Duché's ridiculous illiberal performance I made a very short reply by desiring the bearer, Mrs. Ferguson of Graham-park, if she should hereafter by any accident meet with Mr. Duché, to tell him, I should have returned it unopened, if I had had any idea of the contents.”

Some

1777. Some persons in congress have been and are manœuvring to get gen. Conway promoted, which occasioned the commander in chief's writing the next day to a confidential friend—"I ask why the youngest brigadier in the service (for I believe Conway is so) should be put over the heads of the eldest? I am assured they will not serve under him. I have been a slave to the service: I have undergone more than most men are aware of, to harmonize so many discordant parts; but it will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way."

Before the last year's Massachusetts general court expired, they passed an act to support and enforce the regulating act, made in January, under the title of an act to prevent monopoly and oppression. By this new act, committees were vested with most extraordinary powers, "which," as the act says, "can only be justified in cases wherein the very existence of the community is depending." The vanity and folly however of regulating acts has been so seen and felt, that they have been repealed by the new general court, within these five days.

Boston and Marblehead have been under great difficulties for want of flour and Indian corn; and must have suffered much, had it not been for the state importations. On the 15th of August there was not flour in the capital sufficient for the inhabitants longer than the next day, except what belonged to the state. The sea-ports and neighbouring towns of this state have been used to receive their supplies of flour mostly by water, and from the places now in the hands of the British; they are therefore liable to be distressed by the operations of the war, though happily exempted from being the seat of it, since the evacuation of Boston.



A secret expedition has been carrying on against 1777. Newport, without gen. Washington's having ever been consulted upon it, or knowing from whence or whom it originated. Gen. Spencer was stationed at Providence, and of course conducted it. The states of Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts furnished almost the whole of the troops. The militia, who were called out upon the occasion, readily engaged in the service, for they were filled with the expectations of success, and the hopes of plunder. Every thing went on well for some time, without the British troops knowing that preparations were making for passing over to Rhode Island, and attacking them. At length a half-witted fellow, without seeing consequences, of his own head carried over in his boat to the island, a Jew, whom he landed, and who was to go to Newport, and the neighbourhood, and procure all the intelligence he could, and then to return with his information to gen. Spencer. The Jew went to the enemy and acquainted them with the expedition that was going forward. Upon this the British immediately took proper measures for their security. Gen. Spencer however, perfected his preparations. The time and manner for carrying the militia over was settled. Brigadier Palmer, who headed those from the Massachusetts, had his orders given him; but instead of executing them with life and spirit, he neglected and disobeyed them. His conduct occasioned a failure of the expedition. Spencer's courage would have led him to have attempted carrying the island, after this disappointment, and with a smaller body of troops than were originally to have been employed; but others would not consent to it. The employing of the Connecticut mi-

1777. litia in this service, contributed greatly to, if not wholly caused that weakness in the American force stationed on the North River, which occasioned the loss of the forts Montgomery and Clinton.

A long letter for doctor Fothergill goes by the present opportunity. The writer mentions that the Americans are determined not to part with their independence, and proposes that there should be an immediate acknowledgment of it, on the part of Great Britain, and an entering upon a commercial alliance with the United States, before any foreign power interferes. Numbers have been for some time dissatisfied with the French, because of their not affording more speedy, open, and important assistance. They flatter themselves that the capture of Burgoyne's army will produce a change in the politics of France. An adoption of the above proposal will be the best expedient for over-reaching her in any design of injuring our native country.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

E R R A T A.

Page 192, note, *read*, Chastellux's. P. 238, l. 4, *read*, as of little. P. 367, last line but one, *read*, the whole loss of the Americans. P. 405, l. 1, *read*, of astronomy. P. 477, l. 28, *read*, common cause. P. 532, l. 4, *read*, any wife. P. 539, l. 5, *read*, cols. Warner, Williams.

The candid reader is requested to correct the above errors, and to excuse others that may have been unobserved.





